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AN

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND,

FOR THE USE OF YOUNG PERSONS.

NOW INTRODUCED INTO THE PRINCIPAL SCHOOLS

IN THIS TOWN.

By HANNAH ADAMS.

SECOND EDITION.

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DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS, TO WIT:

BE it remembered, that on the 12th day of February, in the thirty-first year of the Independence of the United States of America, HANNAH ADAMS, of the said district, has deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof she claims as author, in the words following, to wit: "An Abridgment of the History of New-England, for the use of young persons. Now introduced into the principal schools in this town. By HANNAH ADAMS. Second edition."

In conformity to the act of the Congress of the United States, intitled, "An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts and books to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned;" and also to an act intitled, "An act supplementary to an act, intitled, An act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of Maps, Charts and Books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies during the times therein mentioned; and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching, historical and other prints."

WILLIAM S. SHAW, *Clerk of the District of Massachusetts.*

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PREFACE.

THE candid reception which the public have given to the Abridgment of the History of New-England, has induced the compiler to print another edition, with some additions, which she hopes will be received with equal candor. The narrow limits of the work would not permit a particular delineation of the characters of our excellent ancestors; enough, however, she trusts is said to impress the minds of young persons with veneration for those eminent men, to whom their posterity are so highly indebted.

In order to understand, more clearly, some parts of this little work, it is necessary for young readers to obtain a general knowledge of the History of England, during the period which it comprises. When they wish for further information respecting the history of their own country, they are referred to those large and valuable works from which the abridgment is collected. For the corrections in the chronology, and some of the additions, the editor is indebted to Dr. Holmes' American Annals, which elegant work is eminently useful to the public in promoting a correct knowledge of the history of the American colonies.

The Questions to each chapter, are inserted in the Appendix, in order to render the abridgment more useful for schools. Young people may find answers in the sections referred to; and in this way, imprint upon their memories the leading events in the history of their own country.

The compiler desires to make her public acknowledgements to those respectable literary

gentlemen who have patronized her work; she is sensible that actuated by the most disinterested motives, they have exerted themselves to promote her usefulness and welfare; and regrets that a feeble state of health may prevent her evincing, by future exertion, her ambition to merit their good opinion; but she will ever cherish the most lively gratitude, and take pleasure in the idea that their benevolence will be rewarded by the great Author of every blessing.

HISTORY

OF

NEW-ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

1608—1620.

Discovery of America by Columbus. Divisions in England after the Reformation. Persecutions under the Reigns of Elizabeth and James. Mr. Robinson and his Congregation remove to Holland. Part of his Congregation embark for America. Their Settlement at Plymouth, and the Hardships they endured. They are joined by a small Party. Treaty of Alliance with the Indian Princes. Death and Character of Mr. Robinson. A Number of the Leyden Congregation arrive at Plymouth. The Colonists obtain a Patent. Religion, Government, and Character of the Settlers.

1. THE discovery of America is one of the most celebrated achievements in the annals of history. Christopher Columbus, the discoverer, was a native of the republic of Genoa. He was born in 1447, and, at the age of fourteen, entered upon a sea-faring life, in which profession he was eminently distinguished. After a long and fruitless application to several courts of Europe, his plan of exploring new regions ob-

tained the approbation of Isabella, queen of Castile. Through her patronage he set sail, in the year 1492, with three small vessels, which contained one hundred and twenty seamen.

2. The formidable difficulties which attended his voyage to regions hitherto unexplored, were at length surmounted by his astonishing fortitude and perseverance. After discovering several of the West India Islands he built a fort, and left a garrison of thirty-five men in Hispaniola to maintain the Spanish pretensions in that country. He set out on his return to Spain in 1493, and arrived in March, with the joyful intelligence of a NEW WORLD, excelling the kingdoms of Europe in gold and silver, and blest with a luxuriant soil.

3. The voyages of Columbus paved the way for other European adventurers, who were stimulated by ambition and avarice to make farther discoveries; until, finally the rich empires of Mexico and Peru were subdued by lawless invaders. The feeling heart bleeds in reviewing the history of South America, and is filled with horrour at the successful villany of its intrepid conquerors!*

4. The history of North America exhibits a very different scene. The desire of enjoying religious liberty was the grand object, which induced many of the first settlers of that country to encounter a variety of hardships in the wilderness of the new world. The settlements of New-England, which are the particular objects of the ensuing history, owe their rise to the re-

* See Robertson's History of South America.

ligious disputes which attended the reformation in England.

5. When king Henry 8th renounced the papal supremacy, he set up himself as the supreme head of the English church, and commanded his subjects to pay allegiance to him in that capacity. His claim was maintained by his son and successor Edward 6th, in whose reign the reformation from popery made great progress, and a service book was published by royal authority, as the standard of worship and discipline. He was succeeded by his sister Mary, a bigoted papist, who raised such a violent persecution against the protestants that many fled into Germany and the Netherlands, where they departed from the uniformity established in England, and became divided in their sentiments and practice respecting religious worship.

6. At the accession of Elizabeth, they returned to their native country with sanguine hopes of reforming the church of England, according to the respective opinions they had entertained in their exile. But they found that the queen was fond of the establishment made in the reign of her brother Edward, and strongly prejudiced in favour of pomp and ceremony in religion.—She asserted her supremacy in the most absolute terms, and erected a high commission court with extensive jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs.

7. During her reign, those who refused to conform to the church of England were severely persecuted. Some were cast into prison, where a number perished, and a few were put to death.

In consequence of these rigorous proceedings, a separation from the established church took place. Those who were desirous of a further separation from the Romish superstitions, and of a more pure and perfect form of religion, were denominated puritans.*

8. The persecution of the puritans was continued with great severity during the reign of James 1st, which induced Mr. Robinson, a dissenting clergyman in England, with a part of his congregation, to remove to Amsterdam in Holland, A. D. 1608, and the next year they settled at Leyden, where they enjoyed the free exercise of their religious opinions.

9. After twelve years residence in Holland they meditated a removal to America. The principal motives which induced them to form this design were as follow. "The unhealthiness of the low country where they resided; the hard labours to which they were subjected; the dissipated manners of the Hollanders, particularly their lax observance of the Lord's day; the apprehension of war at the conclusion of the truce between Spain and Holland which was then near its close." They wished to avoid the inconvenience of incorporating with the Dutch; they were animated with the hope of propagating the gospel in the remote parts of the world; and forming a church free from the admixture of human additions, and a system of civil policy unfettered with the arbitrary institutions of the old world.†

* Neal's Hist. of the Puritans. Belknap's Hist. of New-Hampshire. † Prince's Chronology, vol. i. page 82.

of the ...

* See Robert...

10. As America appeared a proper place for the execution of their designs, after serious and repeated addresses to heaven for direction, they resolved to cross the Atlantic; and made it the first object of their solicitude to secure the free exercise of their religion.

11. Upon their applying to king James 1st, 16
he gave them private assurance that he would not molest them, if they behaved peaceably; but he persisted in refusing to tolerate them by public authority. The hope however that the distance of their situation would secure them from the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical courts induced them, to resolve upon pursuing their plan; hence they solicited and obtained from the Virginian company the grant of a tract of land within the limits of their patent.

12. As it was not convenient for all to remove 1(
at first, the majority, with their pastor, concluded to remain for the present in Leyden. Mr. William Brewster,* assistant to Mr. Robinson, was chosen to attend the first adventurers. Two ships were prepared, one of which was fitted out in Holland, and the other hired in London.

* Mr. William Brewster was born in England, 1560. With the minority of the church in Leyden he came to New England, and suffered all the hardships attending their settlement in the wilderness. He partook with them of labour, hunger and watching; his bible, and his arms were equally familiar to him; and he was always ready for any duty or suffering to which he was exposed.

Some time after their arrival, while they were expecting Mr. Robinson, and the remainder of his church would follow them to America, Mr. Brewster frequently officiated as a preacher; but never could be persuaded to administer the sacraments, or take upon him the pastorial office. In his public discourses he was clear and distinguishing as well as pathetic. He died in the year 1644. See Belknap's American Biography.

13. When the time of separation drew nigh, their pastor preached a farewell discourse, from Ezra viii. 21. A large concourse of friends from Leyden and Amsterdam accompanied the emigrants to the ship, which lay at Delft-Haven. The night was spent in fervent and affectionate prayers, and in that pathetic intercourse of soul, which persons of sensibility can better conceive of than describe. The affecting scene drew tears even from the eyes of strangers. When the period in which the voyagers were about to depart arrived, they all with their beloved pastor fell on their knees, and with eyes, hands and hearts raised to heaven, fervently commended their adventuring brethren to the blessing of the Lord. Thus, after mutual embraces, accompanied with many tears, they bade a long, and to many of them a final adieu.*

14. On the 22d of July they sailed for Southampton, where they met the ship from London, and on the 5th of August both vessels proceeded to sea, but returned twice into port, on account of defects in the one from Delft, which was dismissed.

15. An ardent desire of enjoying religious liberty, finally overcame all difficulties. A company of an hundred and one persons betook themselves to the London ship, and on the 6th of September sailed from Plymouth in England. Their destination was to Hudson's river; but the Dutch, with a view of planting a colony in that place, bribed the pilot to conduct them so.

* Prince's Chronology, vol. i. page 66.

far to the north, that the first land in America 16
which they made was Cape Cod.*

16. As they were not within the limits of their patent from the South Virginia Company,† they saw the necessity of establishing a separate government for themselves. Accordingly, before they landed, after offering their devout and ardent acknowledgments to God for their safe arrival, they formed themselves into a body politic under the crown of England, for the purpose of establishing just and equal laws for the public good. On the 10th of November the adventurers subscribed a contract which they made the basis of their government; and chose Mr. John Carver, a gentleman of piety and approved abilities, to be their governour the first year, and the practice of an annual election continued unchanged during the existence of their government.‡

17. The first object of the emigrants, after disembarkation, was to fix on a convenient place for settlement. In this attempt they were obliged to encounter numerous difficulties and suffer incredible hardships. These difficulties they at length surmounted; and on the 31st of December they chose a place which they called

* Morton's New-England Memorial.

† A patent or charter is a writing conferring some privilege by government. In the year 1606, King James I. by a patent divided that portion of America which stretches from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, into two districts, nearly equal. The Southern, called the first colony, he granted to certain gentlemen, chiefly resident in London. The Northern district he allotted to several knights, gentlemen and merchants of Bristol, Plymouth, and other parts of the west of England. See D. Holmes' American Annals, vol. i. p. 152.

‡ Mather's Magnalia, vol. i. page 6.

New-Plymouth, in grateful remembrance of the
520 town which they left in their native country.

18. It was a fortunate event for the new colony, that two or three years previously to their arrival such a number of the natives had been destroyed and wasted by war and pestilence, that there was less to be apprehended from their hostility, than there would have been in their former flourishing state.

19. The prospects and situation of the Plymouth settlers were gloomy beyond expression. The company which landed consisted of 101 persons. They were three thousand miles from their native country, with a dreary winter before them, in an uncultivated wilderness, inhabited only by savages. Their only civilized neighbours were a French settlement at Port Royal, and an English settlement in Virginia; the nearest of which was five hundred miles distant, much too remote to afford a hope of relief in a time of danger or famine. To obtain a supply of provisions by cultivating the stubborn soil, required an immensity of previous labour, and was at best a distant and uncertain dependance. A mortal sickness augmented their calamities. Forty-five of their number died before the opening of the next spring, of disorders occasioned by their tedious voyage with insufficient accommodations, and their uncommon exertions and fatigues.*

20. The new colony supported these complicated hardships with heroic fortitude. To enjoy full liberty to worship God, according to

* Prince's Chronology, vol. i. page 98.

the dictates of their consciences, was esteemed by them the greatest of blessings. The religious fervour, which induced them to abandon their native country, fortified their minds and enabled them to surmount every difficulty, which could try their patience, or evince their firmness.

21. As early as March, Massassoit, one of 1621
the most powerful sagamores* of the neighbouring Indians, with sixty attendants, paid them a visit and entered into a treaty of peace and amity. They reciprocally agreed to avoid injuries, to punish offenders, to restore stolen goods, to afford mutual assistance in all justifiable wars, to promote peace among their neighbours, &c.—Massassoit and his successors, for fifty years, inviolably observed this treaty. His example was followed by others. On the 13th of September nine neighbouring sachems† subscribed a writing acknowledging subjection to the king of England.‡

22. To the unspeakable satisfaction of the Plymouth settlers, their associates in England sent them a supply of necessaries, and a reinforcement of colonists in November. By this arrival they received a charter procured for them by the adventurers in London who had been originally concerned with them in this enterprize.

23. The Plymouthians purchased of the Indian proprietors a right to the lands which they cultivated, and for several years after their arri-

* A king or supreme ruler among the American Indians.
† A prince or chief among the American Indians.
‡ Mather, Book i. page 10.

val the whole property of the colony was in common, from which every person was furnished with necessary articles.

24. At the close of the year 1624, the plantation consisted of 180 persons. They had built a town consisting of thirty-two dwelling houses, erected a citadel for its defence, and laid out farms for its support.

25. The following year the new colony re-
1625 ceived the melancholy intelligence of the death of Rev. Mr. Robinson, who died at Leyden in the month of March, in the fiftieth year of his age. The character of this excellent man, who was distinguished both by his natural abilities and an highly cultivated mind, was greatly dignified by the mild and amiable virtues of christianity. He possessed a liberality of sentiment, which was uncommon for the age in which he lived. He was revered and esteemed by the Dutch divines, venerated and beloved by his people; and the harmony which subsisted between them was perfect and uninterrupted.

26. Mr. Robinson's death was greatly lamented by the people at Plymouth, who were flattering themselves with the pleasing hope of his speedy arrival in New-England. After his decease another part of his congregation joined their brethren in America. In the beginning of the year 1629, they chose Mr. Ralph Smith for their pastor.

27. The new colonists made it their principal object to form churches, on what they supposed to be the gospel plan. They embraced the congregational system, and were of opinion

that no churches, nor church officers had any power to control other churches and officers, and that all church members had equal rights and privileges. Their church officers were pastors, ruling elders, and deacons. In doctrinal points, their sentiments were strictly Calvinistic.*

28. Respecting their civil principles, an ardent love of liberty, an unshaken attachment to the rights of men, with a desire to transmit them to their latest posterity, were the principles which governed their conduct. They made the general laws of England their rule of government, and added such municipal laws, as were from time to time found necessary to regulate new and emergent cases, which were unprovided for by the common and statute laws of England.†

29. It appears from the above account that the Plymouthians were a plain, industrious, conscientious, and pious people. Though their piety was fervent, yet it was also rational, and disposed them to a strict observance of the moral and social duties. The leading characters among them were men of superior abilities and undaunted fortitude. The respectable names of Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Prince, and others are immortalized in the annals of New-England.‡

* Prince's Chronology. Hutchinson, vol. ii. page 467.

† Though governor Hutchinson has asserted that the colony of Plymouth "never established any distinct code or body of laws," it appears, by the testimony of other historians, that in 1636 their code of laws was revised, and capital crimes were enumerated and defined. In 1671, it was again revised, and the next year printed with this title: "The book of the general laws of the inhabitants of the jurisdiction of New-Plymouth.—See Belknap's American Biography, vol. ii. p. 242.

‡ See an account of the church of Plymouth, in the Historical Collections for the year 1794.

30. When the plantation amounted to about
1630 three hundred persons, they obtained a patent from the council of Plymouth. By this grant their lands were secured against all English claims.

31. From the history of the first settlers of New England, the persecution which they suffered in their native country, the motives which induced them to emigrate, and the pious zeal which animated them to encounter the hardships of effecting a new settlement, the rising generation may learn the most important lessons of piety and industry. Education and early habits form the great outline of the human character much earlier than many are willing to admit. Religious principles imbibed in youth lay a foundation for future excellence in every science, profession, and business. To industry we owe the comforts of civilized life. By industry the wilderness of the new world was converted into a fruitful field. Those who have risen to eminence from a low situation, have generally under Providence, owed their success to having acquired early habits of persevering diligence.

32. We ought however to be excited to industry from nobler motives, than merely to gain fortune and reputation in this world. It is the command of heaven, that we use every exertion to improve the talents, which our great Creator has afforded us. Time is one of his most precious gifts; on a proper and diligent use of which depend our success in life, and our well being and happiness through eternity.

33. Young people also may learn not to be too easily deterred by apparent difficulties from any undertaking which is sanctioned by duty. Had our ancestors previously made a timid and prudent calculation of the trials they were to encounter in a desart land, inhabited by savages, they probably would never have been able to accomplish their important design. By overcoming one difficulty the mind acquires new energy, and, whilst pursuing the path of duty and humbly relying on divine Providence, is at length enabled to achieve what at first appeared impossible. This was the case with our ancestors, when they effected a settlement in this part of the new world.

CHAPTER II.

1625—1634.

Persecution in England. Settlement of the Massachusetts Colony. A Charter obtained. Salem founded and a Church incorporated. Large Additions made to the Plantation. Sufferings of the emigrants. Boston founded. Union between Plymouth and Massachusetts. Great numbers arrive from England. Of the Massachusetts Government. Religion of the first Settlers of that Colony. Their Character.

1. WHILST the settlers of Plymouth colony were encountering various difficulties, their 1630

brethren, the puritans in England, were suffering a severe persecution. Under the reign of Charles I. the government of the church was committed to archbishop Laud, a man of warm passions and strong prejudices. He entertained exalted ideas of the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and was determined to support it by coercive measures. His aversion to the puritans compelled him to prosecute them with rigorous severity. In the high commission court and star chamber they were imprisoned, fined, and banished in an arbitrary and illegal manner.*

2. This oppressive government induced several men of eminence to meditate a removal to America, if they should fail in their measures for establishing civil and religious liberty in their native country. For this purpose, they obtained grants of land in New-England, and were assiduous in settling them. Among these patentees were the lords Brook, Say, and Seal, the Pelhams, the Hampdens, and the Pyms, names which have since been greatly distinguished in the annals of their country.

3. In 1625, a small party from Plymouth, under the conduct of Mr. Roger Conant, settled on that part of the American coast, now called Salem. The various difficulties they were obliged to encounter, induced them to meditate a return to England. The execution of their design was prevented by Mr. White of Dor-
1627 chester a puritan clergyman, who, having projected an asylum in America for the persecuted

* See Rapin's Hist. of England, and Neal's Hist. of the puritans.

of his own persuasion, promised speedily to send them a patent, supplies, and friends. He engaged a number of leading characters to interest themselves in his plan. On the 19th of March, 1623 Sir Henry Roswell and several other gentlemen in the neighbourhood of Dorchester, received a patent of Massachusetts Bay from the company of Plymouth.

4. These gentlemen petitioned for a royal charter, under the idea, that their existence and powers would be thereby secured and promoted. They succeeded, and a charter of incorporation was granted by king Charles I. constituting them a body politic, by the name of "The governour and company of Massachusetts Bay in New-England," with as ample powers as any corporation in the realm of England. The patent recited the grant of American territory to the council of Plymouth in 1620. It regranted Massachusetts Bay to Sir Henry Roswell and others.

5. The whole executive power of the corporation was vested in a governour, deputy governour, and eighteen assistants; and until the annual election of the company could commence, the governour, deputy-governour, and eighteen assistants were specified. The governour and seven or more assistants were authorised to meet in monthly courts for dispatching such business, as concerned the company or settlement. But the legislative powers of the corporation were vested in a more popular assembly, composed of the governour, deputy governour, the assistants, and freemen of the company. This assembly was to be convened on the last Wednesday of each

1628 of the four annual terms, by the title of the General Court, was empowered to enact laws and ordinances for the good of the body politic and the government of the plantation, and its inhabitants, provided they should not be repugnant to the laws and statutes of England. This assembly was empowered to elect their governour, deputy governour, and other necessary officers, and to confer the freedom of the company. The company was allowed to transport persons, merchandize, weapons, &c. to New-England, exempted from duty, for the term of seven years; and emigrants were entitled to all the privileges of Englishmen. Such are the general outlines of the charter. *

6. Soon after the patent of Massachusetts received the royal confirmation, Capt. Endicot, with one hundred persons, was sent over to prepare the way for the settlement of a permanent colony at Salem, the first town in Massachusetts.
1629 The following year they were joined by two hundred planters from England. One hundred of whom removed and settled at Charlestown.

7. Agreeably to the professed design of their emigration the new settlers made it their primary concern to form a church at Salem, upon a similar plan of order and discipline with that of their brethern at Plymouth. Messrs. Skelton and Higgenson† were ordained pastor and teach-

* See Massachusetts colony charter in Hutchinson's collection of papers, p. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c.

† The Rev. Francis Higgenson came to Massachusetts in 1629. He was a truly evangelical preacher, and enforced the doctrines he taught with persuasive eloquence. He was revered and beloved by his people; and celebrated for the intellectual, moral and religious excellence of his character. His death, which took place in 1630, was greatly lamented.

er. The Messengers from the church of Plym- 16
outh, who were convoked on this solemn occasion, gave the right hand of fellowship, by which ceremony the two churches professed mutual affection and communion.*

8. Several gentlemen of fortune and distinguished reputation made proposals to the Massachusetts company for settling with their families in America, on condition that the government should be transferred to the inhabitants. A General Court was convened, by whom their plan was accepted, and the company proceeded to a new election of officers, who were to repair to and settle in New-England. John Winthrop, Esq. of Groton in Suffolk, a gentlemen of distinguished piety and ability, was chosen governour, Mr. Thos. Dudley was elected deputy governour,† and other worthy persons were chosen for their council.

9. After this revolution was effected, seventeen ships sailed from England containing fifteen hundred persons, among whom were the governour and assistants with their charter.— 163
They arrived in Salem, June 12th. The 6th of July was, in consequence of their safe arrival, celebrated as a day of public thanksgiving, in all the settlements in New-England.

10. Many of the first settlers of Massachusetts were possessed of large fortunes in their native country, and enjoyed the elegant accom-

* Mather, p. 16---19.

† Mr. John Humphrey was chosen deputy governour at the formation of the colony, but after the settlers embarked, Mr. Dudley was elected in his place. Mr. Humphrey did not come to New-England till the year 1634. See Holmes' American Annals.

modations of life. The striking contrast between their former ease and affluence, and the hardships they now endured must have augmented their distress. They were obliged to dispose of their large and valuable estates to make provision for their enterprize. The rigor of the climate, together with the fatigue and exertions unavoidable in a new settlement, occasioned diseases which proved fatal to a large number the first winter after their arrival. Their stock of provisions falling short, the dreadful idea of perishing by famine was added to their other calamities. Religion animated and supported them under all their trials and difficulties.

1629 11. Towards the close of the year, the colony of Charlestown removed to a peninsula to which they gave the name of Boston, from a town in Lincolnshire, in England, the native residence of some of the first settlers, and whence they expected the Rev. John Cotton, a celebrated puritan clergyman. They established a congregational church, over which the Rev. John Wilson officiated as pastor.

12. The subsequent summer a number of passengers arrived from England, among whom was the Rev. John Eliot. A number of his particular friends having formed a settlement, and collected a church in a town which they called Roxbury, he was ordained their pastor the year after his arrival in New-England.*

13. In order to establish a union between the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts, the governour, with Rev. Mr. Wilson and other

* Mather, book iii. p. 175.

gentlemen, walked forty miles through the woods to Plymouth. Mr. Bradford, governour of Plymouth, received them with great respect; and this interview laid the foundation of a permanent friendship.

14. About this period a considerable number of new settlers arrived in New-England; among whom were Rev. John Cotton, who was chosen assistant to Mr. Wilson in Boston, and Rev. Messrs. Hooker and Stone, who were ordained over the church in Newton, since called Cambridge. The settlement of these celebrated clergymen, joined with the unrelenting severity of archbishop Laud's administration, induced such numbers to emigrate, that new plantations were formed, and congregational churches established in various parts of the country. 163.

15. The population of Massachusetts had now become so great, as to induce the colonists in certain instances to deviate in the administration of government, from the directions of their charter. Hitherto the legislative power had been exercised by the governour, deputy-governour, the assistants, and the whole body of freemen in person. The increase of the country having rendered this method extremely inconvenient, the people elected representatives, who met the governour and council, and constituted the General Court. In 1644 the General Courts were reduced from four to two in a year, and except in this and a few other unimportant circumstances, the government remained unaltered until 1684, when the people were deprived of their charter.* 163.

* Hutchinson.

16. The most distinguished persons among the Massachusetts settlers maintained, that the subjects of any prince or state had a natural right to migrate to any other part of the world, when deprived of liberty of conscience, and that upon such a removal their allegiance ceased. They acknowledged, that they ought not to enact laws repugnant to those of England; but at the same time asserted their right of being governed by their own laws, and by officers of their own election. Hence, instead of strictly conforming to the laws of England, they made the Mosaic laws the foundation of the code they established.

17. Most of the early settlers of Massachusetts, had, whilst in England, lived in communion with the established church. The rigorous measures used to enforce ceremonies, by them deemed unlawful, occasioned their removal to America. Previously to leaving their native country they agreed in a respectful address* to the members of the church of England, in which they desired to be called their brethren. They requested their prayers, and, in energetic language, professed the most affectionate regard to their welfare.

18. The Massachusetts churches in general were formed on the congregational model, and maintained calvinistic doctrines. The colony had no settled plan of church discipline till after the arrival of Mr. Cotton, whose opinion in civil and sacred concerns was held in the highest estimation. He gradually modelled all their church administrations, and determined their

* See this address in Hutchinson's History.

ecclesiastical constitutions. This great man earnestly pleaded, "that the government might be considered as a theocracy, wherein the Lord was judge, law-giver, and king; that the laws of Israel might be adopted by the New-England settlers, so far as they were considered as God's people in covenant with him; that none but persons of approved piety and eminent abilities should be chosen rulers; that the clergy should be consulted in all matters of religion; and that the magistrates should have a superintending and coercive power over the churches."

19. In consequence of this union between church and state, on the plan of Jewish theocracy, the ministers were called to sit in council, and give their advice in matters of religion, and cases of conscience, which came before the court, and without them they never proceeded to any act of an ecclesiastical nature. As none were allowed to vote in the election of rulers but freemen, and freemen must be church-members; and as none could be admitted into the church, but by the elders, who first examined and then propounded them to the brethren for their vote, the clergy acquired hereby a vast ascendancy over both rulers and people.

20. The magistrates, on the other hand regulated the gathering of the churches, interposed in the settlement and dismission of ministers, arbitrated in ecclesiastical controversies, and controled synodical assemblies. This coercive power in the magistrates was deemed absolutely necessary to preserve the order of the Gospel.*

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 81.

21. Though the conduct of our ancestors in the application of the power of the civil magistrate to religious concerns, was fraught with errour, and the liberal sentiments of the present age place their errours in a conspicuous point of view; their memory ought ever to be held in veneration. While we review the imperfections which, at present cast a shade over their characters, we ought to recollect those virtues, by which they gave lustre to the age in which they lived, their ardent love of liberty when tyranny prevailed in church and state; the fortitude with which they sacrificed ease and opulence, and encountered complicated hardships, in order to enjoy the sacred rights of conscience; their care to lay a foundation for solid learning, and establish wise and useful institutions in their infant state; the immense pains they took in settling and cultivating their lands, and defending the country against the depredations of surrounding Indians; and above all their supreme regard for religion.

22. The first inhabitants of New-England are thus justly characterised by an eminent author, "Religious to some degree of enthusiasm it may be admitted they were, but this can be no peculiar derogation from their character, because it was at that time almost the universal character not only of England, but of Christendom. Had this however been otherwise, their enthusiasm, considering the principles on which it was founded, and the ends to which it was directed, far from being a reproach, was greatly to their honour. For I believe it will be

found universally true, that no great enterprize for the honour and happiness of mankind was ever achieved without a large mixture of that noble infirmity. Whatever imperfections may be justly ascribed to them, which, however, are as few as any mortals have discovered, their judgment in forming their policy was founded on wise and benevolent principles; it was founded on revelation and reason too; it was consistent with the best, greatest, and wisest legislators of antiquity."*

23. The Massachusetts colony rapidly increased. A dreary wilderness in the space of a few years had become a comfortable habitation, furnished with the necessaries and conveniencies of life. It is remarkable that previously to this period, all the attempts at settling the northern patent upon secular views proved abortive. They were accompanied with such public discouragement as would probably have lost the continent to England, or have permitted only the sharing of it with the other European powers, as in the West-India Islands, had not the spirit of religion given rise to an effectual colonization.

* Adams on the canon and feudal law. *Boston Gazette*, 1765.

CHAPTER III.

1622—1629.

Of the Settlement of New-Hampshire and the District of Maine. The Plantation and Civil Government of Connecticut and New-Haven. Of their Attention to the Promotion of Learning and Religion. The religious Tenets in which the New-England Settlers were agreed The King and Council in England prohibit the Puritans from embarking for America.

1. WHILST religious principles animated the settlers of Plymouth and Massachusetts to encounter hardships in a dreary wilderness, a spirit of enterprize and ambition induced others to attempt settlements in different parts of the new world. As early as 1622, grants of land had been made by the Plymouth council to two of their most active members, viz. Sir Ferdinand Gorges and Capt. John Mason. The subsequent year, they, in conjunction with several English merchants who styled themselves "The company of Laconia," attempted the establishment of a colony and fishery at the river Pascataqua. This was the beginning of the settlement known since by the name of New-Hampshire.*

2. Several years after, some of the scattered
629 planters in the Bay of Massachusetts procured a general meeting of the Indians at Squamscot falls, where they obtained from the Indian sa-

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 10.

chems, deeds of a tract of land between the rivers Pascataqua and Merrimack. These lands, at a future period, afforded an asylum for a number of exiles whom persecution had driven from Massachusetts.

3. In this and the two following years, the Plymouth council made several grants of lands on Pascataqua river, to different proprietors. Dispirited by the difficulties they were obliged to encounter, the major part of the other adventurers sold their shares to Mason and Gorges, who were more sanguine than the rest, and became the sole proprietors.

4. These gentlemen redoubled their exer- 1633
tions for effecting a settlement. And having formed themselves into a body politic, and entered into a voluntary association for government, appointed Francis Williams, a man of sense and discretion, to be their governour.*

5. The District of Maine was settled by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, at nearly the same period with New-Hampshire. This gentleman was of an ambitious and enterprising spirit, a firm royalist and zealous episcopalian. Hence he united with Mason, (whose civil and religious sentiments were similar to his own,) in an unsuccessful attempt to obtain a general government over the New-England colonies.

6. When he found this plan could not be effected, he solicited and obtained a charter from king Charles Ist, which is said to have contained greater power than had ever been granted by a sovereign to a subject. Under this delegated

* Belknap.

authority he appointed counsellors for conducting the affairs of the settlement. To perpetuate his reputation as land proprietor, he gave the plantation of York the name of Gorgeana. The little care that was taken to establish a regular support for the clergy, and early want of religious instruction proved highly detrimental to the inhabitants of this country.*

7. The rapid increase of Massachusetts settlement induced a number from that colony to form the design of effecting a new plantation on Connecticut river; the land there situated being celebrated for its luxuriancy. The first grant of this country was made by the Plymouth council to the earl of Warwick, in 1630, and confirmed by his majesty in council the same year. The earl assigned the grant to lord Say and Seal, lord Brook and nine others, who reserved it as asylum for the puritan emigrants from England.†

1635 8. Several families from Roxbury, Dorchester, Cambridge, and Watertown, began to remove to Connecticut. After a tedious and difficult journey of fourteen days, through swamps and rivers, over mountains and rough grounds, they arrived safely at the places of their respective destination, and founded the towns of Windsor,‡ Hartford,§ Weathersfield.‖ Rev. Mr. Hooker, a respectable and pious clergyman, was the leader of this enterprize.¶

* Sullivan, p. 78, 79, 237, 307. † Morse, vol. i. p. 465.
‡ 1635. § 1636. ‖ 1637.
¶ Mr. Thomas Hooker came from England to Cambridge in Massachusetts, in 1633. Three years after he removed to Connecticut, and was considered as father of that colony. He

9. "The hardships and distresses of the first planters of Connecticut," says Dr. Trumbull, "scarcely admit of a description. To 163(
carry much provision or furniture through a pathless wilderness, was impracticable. Their principal provisions and furniture were therefore put on board several small vessels, which, by reason of delays, and the tempestuousness of the season, were either cast away, or did not arrive." Several vessels were wrecked on the coast of New-England by the violence of the storms. Every resource appeared to fail, and the people were under the dreadful apprehension of perishing by famine. They supported themselves in this distressing period with that heroic firmness and magnanimity, for which the first settlers of New-England had been so eminently distinguished.*

10. The Connecticut planters first settled under the general government of Massachusetts; but finding themselves without the limits of their patent, and being at full liberty to govern themselves by their own institutions, they formed themselves by voluntary compact into a distinct commonwealth.

11. The constitution of Connecticut ordain- 163(
ed that there should be two general courts, or assemblies, in a year; one on the second Thursday in April, and the other on the second Thursday in September; that the first should be the court of election, in which should be annually

was distinguished as a preacher for applying his discourses to the hearts and consciences of his hearers; and his labors were eminently successful. He died 1657.

*Trumbull's Hist. of Connecticut.

chosen at least six magistrates, and all other public officers. It provided that all persons who had been received as members of the several towns by a majority of the inhabitants, and had taken the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth, should be admitted freemen of the colony. This was the most material point in which the constitution of Connecticut differed from that of Massachusetts, which confined the privileges of freemen to the communion of the churches.*

12. Agreeably to the constitution, the freemen convened at Hartford on the second Thursday in April, and elected their officers for the ensuing year. John Haynes, esq. a gentleman of integrity, judgment, and piety, was chosen governour of the colony.†

13. In the year 1635, the puritan noblemen, lords Say and Brook, having meditated a removal to America, fixed on the banks of the Connecticut, as their place of settlement. They deputed George Fenwick, esq. their agent, to build a fort at the mouth of the river, which he called Saybrook, in honour of his noble patrons.

1637 14. Whilst the planters of Connecticut were thus exerting themselves in prosecuting and regulating the affairs of that colony, another was projected and settled at Quinnipiak, afterwards called New-Haven. This year, two large ships arrived in the Massachusetts Bay, with passengers from London and its vicinity. Amongst these passengers was a number of respectable

* See original constitution of Connecticut, in Trumbull's History, p. 528. † Trumbull.

persons, in particular Mr. Eaton and Mr. Hopkins, who had been opulent merchants in London, who were celebrated for abilities, integrity and piety, and Mr. John Davenport, a famous clergyman in the city of London, who was distinguished for piety, learning, and the uprightness of his conduct.

15. The reputation and opulence of the principal gentlemen of this company, made the people of Massachusetts exceedingly desirous of their settling in that Commonwealth. To effect this purpose, great pains were taken by particular persons and towns; and the general court offered them their choice of a place of residence. Influenced however by the delightful prospects which the country afforded, and flattering themselves that by removing to a considerable distance, they should be out of the jurisdiction of a general government, with which the plantations were then threatened, they were determined to settle a distinct colony. In the autumn of this year, Mr. Eaton, and 163
others who were of the company, made a journey to Connecticut, to explore the lands and harbors on the sea coast. They pitched upon Quinnipiak for the place of their settlement.

16. The New-Haven adventurers were the most opulent company that came into New-England, and their object was to plant a capital colony. They laid out their town plat in squares, designing it for a great and elegant city. In the centre was a large square. This was compassed with others making nine in the whole.*

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 89, 90, 94.

38 17. This colony, like Connecticut, formed a government by voluntary agreement, without charter or authority from the crown. On the 4th of July, all the free planters assembled at Quinnipiak to lay the foundations of their civil and religious policy.

18. Rev. Mr. Davenport introduced this important transaction by a discourse from Prov. ix. 1. His design was to show, that the church or house of God should be formed of seven pillars or principal brethren, to whom all the other members of the church should be added. In conformity to this plan, after a proper term of trial, a number of the most distinguished characters were chosen for the seven pillars of the church.

19. On the 25th of October, the court, as it was termed, consisting of those seven persons only, convened, and after a solemn address to the Supreme Being, proceeded to form the body of freemen, and to elect their civil officers. Their elections were annual, and Mr. Theophilus Eaton was chosen governour for the first year.

20. By this original fundamental constitution of New-Haven, all government was vested in the church. The members of the church elected the governour, magistrates, and all other officers. The magistrates at first were no more than assistants of the governour; they might not act in any sentence or determination of the court. No deputy-governour was chosen, nor were any laws enacted except the general resolutions which have been noticed: but as the plantation enlarged, and new towns were settled, new or-

ders were given; the general court received another form; laws were enacted, and the civil policy of this jurisdiction gradually advanced in its essential parts, to a near resemblance of the government of Connecticut.* 1638

21. The first settlers in New-Haven had all things in common; all purchases were made in the name and for the use of the whole plantation, and the lands were apportioned out to each family, according to its number and original stock.†

22. The colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven, from their first settlement, rapidly increased. From 1635 to 1640, six towns were settled, viz. Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, in Connecticut; and New-Haven, Milford, and Stamford, in New-Haven.‡

23. Schools were instituted by law in every town and parish of Connecticut and New-Haven. As the country was originally designed as an asylum for the puritan religion, the settlers of both colonies were assiduously engaged in gathering congregational churches, and settling pastors and church officers.

24. The New-England churches agreed in adopting calvinistic doctrines; in maintaining the power of each particular church to govern itself, the validity of presbyterian ordination, and the expediency of synods on certain great occasions. From their commencement they used

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 101, 102, 103. See fundamental articles in the original constitution of New-Haven, in appendix to Trumbull's history page 633.

† Morse, vol. i. page 449.

‡ Manuscript of the late President Stiles.

1637 ecclesiastical councils, convoked by particular churches for advice, but not for the judicial determination of controversies.*

25. The persecution in England still continued, and occasioned so many puritans to go over to New-England, that the king and council, by a proclamation dated April 30th, forbade any further emigration, and an order was dispatched to detain eight ships lying in the river Thames, which were prepared to sail. Notwithstanding this prohibition (so difficult is it restrain men whose minds are agitated by fear or hope) great numbers found means to elude the vigilance of government, and transported themselves to Massachusetts. From the same motives, the establishment of the colony of New-Haven was undertaken, and extensive settlements in New-England formed at that period.†

26. From reviewing the above settlements, we are to admire the wisdom of divine providence, in rendering the bigotry and intolerance of the English nation subservient to the planting of flourishing colonies in the new world. By these means, regions before inhabited by savages, now became peopled by men of piety and information; and a scene opened unparalleled in the annals of history. No nation ever enjoyed so much liberty and opportunity of forming civil and religious establishments, as the first settlers of New-England. The increase of their numbers was rapid beyond example.‡ No other

* Mather. † Chalmers, p. 39.

‡ The number of ships which had transported passengers to New-England from the commencement of the settlement of Massachusetts to the year 1638, was estimated to be two hun-

instance can be produced of a people, who at their first settlement, were so assiduously engaged in promoting useful learning, and in making improvements in the arts and sciences. It is remarkable that at this period, when the emigration from England ceased, the settlements were still farther extended by similar means, viz. the bigotry and intolerance of the new settlers. This gave rise to the plantations of Providence and Rhode-Island, an account of which will be given in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1631—1643.

Of the intolerant Principles of the Massachusetts Colony. Banishment of Mr. Roger Williams and his settlement at Providence. Of the Antinomian Dissentions in Massachusetts, and the Settlements of Rhode-Island. Of the Plantations of Exeter, Hampton, and Warwick. Of Plymouth Settlements. The inhabitants of Narraganset-Bay obtain a Patent from the Crown of England.

1. THE inhabitants of New-England, who abandoned their native country, and encountered a variety of hardships to avoid perse-

dred and ninety-eight; and the number of men, women and children, twenty-one thousand two hundred. See Holmes' American Annals.

cution, soon discovered a determined resolution to enforce uniformity in religious worship, among all those who inhabited the territories.
1631 Hence, as early as the second general court, after the arrival of the governour and company, they resolved, that none should be admitted to the freedom of the body politic, but such as were church members. They soon after concluded that none but such should share in the administration of civil government, or have a voice in any election. A few years after, they so far forgot their own sufferings, as to persecute those who refused to accede to their religious sentiments.*

2. Mr. Roger Williams, a puritan clergyman, arrived this year from England at Salem where he was immediately chosen assistant to Mr. Skelton. The magistrates opposed his settlement, because he refused to join with the church at Boston, unless they would make a public declaration of their repentance for maintaining communion with the church of England while in their native country. This occasioned Mr. Williams' removal to Plymouth, where he was elected assistant to Mr. Smith, in which office he continued between two and three years. Upon a disagreement with some of the characters in this church, and an invitation to Salem, he requested a dismission and returned to that town. As Mr. Skelton, the former clergyman, was now deceased, he was chosen to succeed him; but the magistrates still opposed his settlement, on account of certain religious opinions.

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 26, 27.

8. The sentiments with which his opponents charged him, were as follow: That it is not lawful for a godly man to have communion in family prayer, or an oath, with such as they judge unregenerate. Therefore he refused the oath of fidelity, and taught others to follow his example; that it is not lawful for an unregenerate man to pray; that the magistrate has nothing to do in matters of the first table; that there should be a general and unlimited toleration of all religions, and that it was persecution to punish a man for following the dictates of his conscience; that the patent which was granted by king Charles was invalid, and an instrument of injustice, which they ought to renounce, because the king of England had no power to dispose of the lands of the natives. On account of these sentiments, and for refusing to join in communion with the Massachusetts churches, he was at length banished the colony, as a disturber of the peace of the church and Common- 1634
wealth.*

4. Whilst Mr. Williams resided at Plymouth and Salem, he cultivated an acquaintance with the Indians in those towns, and learned their language. Previously to his leaving the colony, he presented a variety of gifts to Canonicus and Ossamaquin, two Narraganset sachems, and privately treated with them for land, with which they assured him he should be supplied, provided he would settle in their country. This encouraged him after his banish-

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 37. Neal's History of New-England, vol. i. p. 158.

1636 ment, to remove with four companions to Narraganset-Bay.

5. He and his friends first came to Seconk, now Rehoboth, and obtained a grant of land from the chief sachem at Mount-Hope. But as this place was within the limits of Plymouth patent, Mr. Winslow the governour, in a friendly manner, advised them to remove. They complied, and having crossed Seconk river, landed among the Indians, by whom they were hospitably received. Mr. Williams named the place of his residence, Providence, "in a sense of God's merciful providence to him in his distress." Strongly impressed with the importance of religious liberty, the grand object which he had in view was, "to provide a refuge for persons destitute for conscience sake."*

6. This small company was soon augmented by parties from Massachusetts. The new emigrants greatly suffered through fatigue and want. They supported their affliction with christian fortitude, and effected a settlement, the government of which was founded on the broad basis of universal toleration.

7. "Mr. Williams embraced the sentiments
1639 of the baptists a few years after his arrival in Providence, and was instrumental in forming a church of that denomination, which was the first baptist church in New-England." He soon after relinquished their opinions, and became a seeker. But, though his strong feelings, and deep researches in the mazes of spec-

* Williams' second deed to the settlers, 1661. Plea to the Court of Commissioners, 1677.

ulation, led him to be wavering and undecided in his religious sentiments, yet his conduct exhibited the goodness of his heart, and purity of his intentions. He exerted himself to the utmost that others might enjoy that freedom of opinion which he himself exercised; and long retained his authority in the colony he had founded, employing himself continually in acts of kindness, affording relief to the distressed, and offering an asylum to the persecuted.*

8. The first form of government established at Providence, appears to have been a voluntary agreement, that each individual should submit to, and be governed by, the resolutions of the whole body. All public concerns and private controversies were heard, adjudged, and finished, in their town meetings.†

9. Soon after the settlement was begun in 163
Providence, the commonwealth of Massachusetts was disturbed by intestine divisions. The male members of the church in Boston had been accustomed to convene every week for religious purposes. Mrs. Hutchinson, a very extraordinary woman, established a similar meeting for her own sex, in which she repeated passages in Mr. Cotton's sermons, accompanied with her remarks and expositions. These lectures for some time were received with general approbation, and attended by a numerous audience. At length she drew a marked distinction between the ministers and members of churches through

* See letter from Roger Williams to Major Mason, published in Collections of the Historical Society for 1792.

† Gov. Hopkins' Gazette.

the country. A small number she allowed to be under a covenant of grace, and asserted that the others were under a covenant of works. She was also charged with maintaining, that the Holy Ghost dwells personally in a justified person; and that sanctification is not an evidence of justification.*

10. The fluency and confidence with which she delivered her sentiments procured numerous proselytes. The whole colony was divided into two parties, differing in sentiment, and alienated in affection. The antinomians, (for so Mrs. Hutchinson's followers were called,) exerted themselves to keep in office Sir Henry Vane,† who adopted their opinions and protected their preachers. On the other hand the opposite party used every effort to discontinue him, and substitute John Winthrop, Esq. and after some difficulty, they succeeded in the election of this gentleman.

1637 11. The whole colony was now so much interested and agitated, that it was judged advisable to call a council to give their opinion upon the controverted points. Accordingly, the first synod in New-England, was convened at Newton, now Cambridge, the 30th of August. After disputing for three weeks the synod condemned eighty-two erroneous opinions, said to have been maintained in the colony. The result was signed by all the members except Mr. Cotton,

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 67.

† Sir Henry Vane came to Massachusetts in 1635, and was chosen governor the following year. He returned to England 1637, and upon the breaking out of the civil war in the reign of Charles I. he took an active part on the parliament side; and suffered death, in 1662, on the charge of high treason.

who, though he declined censuring the whole, expressed his disapprobation of the greater part of these opinions.*

12. The general court, in their session at Newton cited the principal persons of the antinomian party to appear before them; and pronounced a sentence of banishment upon Mrs. Hutchinson, and Rev. John Wheelright, her brother, who had been a preacher in Braintree, then a part of Boston. He had warmly advocated the new doctrines, and in a late discourse, severely censured the magistrates and ministers in the colony.†

13. Mrs. Hutchinson, with a large number of her party, some of whom had been banished, and others disfranchised, removed from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts colony. Mr. Roger Williams received and entertained them with the most friendly attention at Providence. His active benevolence, with the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, procured for them Aquidneck, now Rhode-Island, of the Indian sachems. On the 24th of March, 1638, they signed a deed, conveying this island to the English. Here the exiles found a comfortable asylum, and entered into a voluntary association for government.‡

14. Mr. William Coddington was chosen to be their judge and chief magistrate. This gentleman came to America in 1630; settled in Boston, and became one of the principal merchants in that town. After his removal to Rhode-Island, he embraced the sentiments of

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 67. † Belknap, vol. i. p. 36.
‡ Records in the Secretary's office, in Providence.

the friends. He appears to have been a warm advocate for liberty of conscience.*

15. Mr. John Clark was another leading character among the exiles. In order to enjoy religious liberty, he voluntarily abandoned the colony of Massachusetts. In 1644, he founded a baptist church in Rhode-Island. He was chosen agent for the newly established plantation, and after the restoration of Charles II. was instrumental in procuring a charter.

38 16. The settlement of this island was commenced at the north end, and named Portsmouth, from the narrow strait on which it lies. At the opening of the next year, having found another fine harbour, a settlement was made at the south-west part of the island, which was called Newport. The fertility of its lands, the convenience of its port, and the opulence of its first inhabitants, conspired to render it in a few years, the metropolis of the colony.

17. The government established in Rhode-Island was similar to that of Providence; for though the chief magistrate and four assistants were invested with some of the executive powers, the remainder with the legislative and judiciary authority, were exercised by the body of the people in town meeting.

18. Large numbers of baptists and friends, at different periods, repaired to Providence and Rhode-Island, in order to find an asylum from persecution, "It being," as Dr. Belknap observes, "the distinguishing trait in this colony,

* See Coddington's letter to the governor of New-England, written in 1675.

that it was settled on a plan of entire religious liberty; men of every denomination being equally protected and countenanced, and enjoying the honours and offices of government."

19. The intolerance of Massachusetts, which gave rise to the settlement of Providence and Rhode-Island, proved the occasion of enlarging New-Hampshire. Rev. John Wheelright, after his banishment, sought an asylum in that 163
colony. He had previously purchased lands of the Indians at Squamscot falls, and with a number of his adherents now began a plantation, which, according to the agreement made with Mason's agents, was called Exeter. Having obtained a dismission from the church in Boston, they established a church in that place; and being without the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, formed themselves into a body politic for their own government.

20. About the same time a number of persons, chiefly from Norfolk in England, made a settlement in a place which they called Hampton. They began by laying out a township in shares; and having formed a church, chose Mr. Stephen Bachelor for their minister.*

21. The inhabitants of Lynn in Massachu- 163
setts, became so much straitened at home, that they contracted with the agent of Lord Sterling, for a tract of land on the west end of Long-Island. But the Dutch gave them so much trouble, that they were obliged to desert from a settlement which they had commenced, and remove farther eastward. They collected nearly

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 37–39.

an hundred families, and effected a permanent settlement which they called South-Hampton. Having entered into a combination to maintain civil government, they formed themselves into a church, and called Mr. Abraham Pierson to be their pastor.

22. The settlers of Plymouth were at first but few in number; and the additions made in these parts, after Massachusetts was planted, were small; yet before the year 1643, they had settled nine towns; after the death of Mr. Carver, their first governor, which took place soon after their arrival, they chose Mr. Bradford,* and were so well satisfied with his administration, that except three years, when Mr. Winslow and two, when Mr. Prince were chosen, he was elected annually till his death. The colony was blessed with pious and learned ministers, one of whom Mr. Chauncy, was, some years after, chosen president of Cambridge college.

23. Four years after the settlement of Providence, the inhabitants of that colony began a plantation at Patucket, a place adjoining and comprehended within their grant.

43 24. The colonists at Providence and Rhode-

* William Bradford was born in the north of England 1588, he came to America with the first company in 1620. Piety, wisdom and integrity, were such prominent traits in his character that he was annually chosen governor for many years; and though he strongly recommended a rotation in the election, he could not obtain it for more than five years in thirty-five. The night before his death his mind was so elevated with idea of futurity, that he said to his friends in the morning, "God hath given me a pledge of my happiness in another world, and the first fruits of eternal glory." He died 1657, in the sixty-ninth year of his age. See Belknap's American Biography.

Island being destitute of a patent or any legal authority, sent Mr. Williams as their agent to England, to procure a charter from the crown. By the assistance of Sir Henry Vane, and the influence of the earl of Warwick, then governor and admiral of all the plantations, he obtained from parliament a free and absolute charter of civil incorporation of Providence Plantations in Narraganset Bay. The inhabitants were empowered to form their own government, and enact laws conformable to the laws and statutes of England.*

25. The apprehension of impending danger from a general combination of the Indians, induced the New-England colonies to form an union for their mutual defence. Commissioners from Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven, convened and framed articles of confederation. Rhode-Island was desirous of joining, but Massachusetts refused to admit their commissioners. Upon this exclusion, the plantations of Providence and Rhode-Island courted the friendship of the neighboring Indians with such assiduity and success, that in the year 1644, they obtained from the chiefs of the Narragansets, a formal surrender of their country.

26. The intolerance of the first settlers of Massachusetts, shews the imperfection of even the best of men, and their liability to error. The zeal of our ancestors to deprive their fellow emigrants of those sacred rights, which they had made such sacrifices to obtain; their drawing

* Hazard's First Collect. vol. i. p. 540.

the sword of persecution in the wilderness, so soon after they had fled from its powers, marks their characters with apparent inconsistency. But when we consider the political theories of that age, that it was almost universally thought to be the duty of civil magistrates to use coercive measures, to promote uniformity in the ordinances and doctrines of religion. When we also consider their reasonable dread of the interruption of that religious harmony which had given energy to all their enterprizes; we readily discover a solution of their conduct in the frailty of our species. And while we commiserate the severity of their trials, we are compelled to admire, and should be induced to imitate their conspicuous virtues, and to adore the wisdom of divine providence in rendering their bigotry subservient to the great design of extending the New-England settlements.

CHAPTER V.

1637—1645.

Of the War with the Pequod Indians. Cambridge College founded. Of the Union of New-Hampshire with Massachusetts. The Province of Maine submits to Massachusetts' Jurisdiction. Settlement of Martha's Vineyard. The civil War in England puts a stop, for the present, to the further increase of the Plantations. Extract from Governour Winthrop's Address to the People.

1. WHEN our ancestors had, with unconquered perseverance, surmounted the obsta-

ces to their first settlement, they had still an arduous task to secure themselves from the malevolence and jealousy of the natives. They had taken every precaution to avoid a war; and the interposition of divine providence, was visible in restraining the savages from destroying their infant settlements.

2. In the spring of 1630, the Indian tribes from the Narragansets to the eastward, entered into a grand conspiracy to extirpate the English. But their plot was discovered to the people of Charlestown by John Sagamore, who had always been a warm friend to the colonists; and the preparations which were made to prevent any such fatal surprise in future, terrified the Indians in such a degree that they relinquished their design.

3. At length, when the colonists had acquired some degree of strength, they were involved in a war with the Pequods; the most powerful and warlike of the tribes of Indians who then inhabited Connecticut. They had the sagacity to foresee their own ruin in the extension of the English settlements; and the disposition excited by this apprehension had displayed itself in various acts of hostility. 1637

4. The alarming situation of their affairs induced the Pequods to seek a reconciliation with their ancient enemies, the Narragansets. They urged them to forget their former animosity, and represented that one magnanimous effort would with facility, and without danger, oblige the strangers to abandon the lands, which they had seized with such avidity. They expressed

1637 their apprehensions, that without their friendly assistance both tribes would be destroyed. These cogent reasons had such an effect on the Narraganset Indians that they began to waver. But as they had recently been engaged in war with the Pequods, the love of revenge so congenial to the savage mind, overpowered all interested motives, and induced them to join the English.*

5. Actuated by the most inveterate hatred to the colonists, the Pequods surprised and killed several of the settlers on Connecticut river. Alarmed at these hostile proceedings, the colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut, agreed to march with united forces into their country, and effect the entire destruction of the whole tribe. The troops of Connecticut on account of their vicinity to the enemy, were first in motion. The army sailed from Connecticut river to the Narraganset country, where they were joined by five hundred of that tribe.

6. The Pequods were entrenched in two strong forts, in one of which was Sassacus, the chief sachem, a prince of a haughty independent spirit. The other was situated on the banks of Mystic river. Against this fort it was finally determined to make the first assault. One of the Pequods who resided with the Narragansets, conducted the army in their march to the destruction of his countrymen.

* Hubbard's Narrative of the Indian Wars, page 21. Chalmers, page 290.

7. The attack commenced on the morning 1637
of the 22d of May. The Indians after a mid-
night revel were buried in a deep and secure
sleep. The barking of a dog discovered the
approach of their enemies. The battle was
warm and bloody; and though the Pequods de-
fended themselves with the spirit of a people
contending for their country and existence, yet
the English gained a complete victory. The
fort was taken, about seventy wigwams were
burnt, and five or six hundred Indians perished.
Of all who belonged to the fort, seven only es-
caped, and seven were made prisoners.*

8. Soon after this action, the troops from Massachusetts commanded by Capt. Stoughton, arrived, and it was resolved to pursue their victory. Several skirmishes took place, which terminated unfavourably to the Pequods. A large number of Indians who had concealed themselves in a swamp near Fairfield, were surrounded by the English. A sachem, with about two hundred old men, women, and children, came voluntarily and surrendered. Terms of peace were offered to the others, which the Pequod warriors rejected with disdain, and upon the renewal of hostilities, fought with obstinate bravery. A total defeat however was given them, which put a period to the war.

9. Sassacus and a number of his attendants fled to the Mohawks, by whom they were treacherously murdered. Many of the Pequods were taken captive, and about seven hundred de-

* Hutchinson, vol. i. page 53.

stroyed. This successful expedition terrified the remaining Indians to such a degree, as to restrain them from open hostilities nearly forty years.*

10. Though surrounded with dangers and embarrassed with a variety of difficulties, our ancestors paid great attention to the interests of learning. "They made an early provision by law, that every town consisting of so many families, should be always furnished with a grammar school; and subjected those towns which were destitute of a grammar school-master for a few months to a heavy penalty."

11. In the year 1637, the general court of Massachusetts contemplated a public school at Newtown; and appropriated four hundred pounds for that object. But Mr. John Harvard, minister of Charlestown, dying two years after, increased this sum by the addition of a great part of his estate, valued at seven or eight hundred pounds. Thus endowed, this school was exalted to a college, and assumed the name of its first benefactor. Newtown was changed to Cambridge, in compliment to the college, and in memory of the place where many of our fathers received their education.†

12. After the college was erected, a foundation was laid for a public library. Several English gentlemen made valuable presents, both of books, and mathematical instruments, to this new seminary of learning. In the year 1640, the general court granted the income of Charles-

* Hubbard, p. 41. † Hubbard, p. 42.

town ferry as a perpetual revenue to the college; and Rev. Henry Dunster was appointed first president.*

13. In 1642, the college was placed under the superintendance of the governour, deputy-governour, magistrates, and ministers of the six adjacent towns, who, with the president, constituted the board of overseers. The first commencement was this year holden at Cambridge.†

14. In 1650 the college received its first charter from the general court, appointing a corporation, consisting of seven persons, viz. a president, five fellows, and a treasurer, to have perpetual succession by election to their offices. Their style is, "The President and Fellows of Harvard College." To this body were submitted all the affairs of the college, and they have the care of all donations and bequests to the institution. After this charter was granted, the board of overseers continued a distinct branch of the government; and these two bodies form the legislature of the college.‡

15. In the mean time the New-England colonies were rapidly increasing, and new settle- 1651
ments continually formed. In 1637 the town of Dedham was incorporated, and Medfield in 1650 made a township.§ New townships were also formed, and churches gathered in the other colonies.

16. Four distinct governments, (including one at Kittery, on the north side of the river) 1646
were formed on the several branches of Piscataqua. These being only voluntary associations,

* Neal, vol. i. p 202. † Holmes' American Annals.
‡ Morses Geography, vol. i. p. 416. § Belknap, vol. i. p. 54.

and liable to be broken or subdivided on the first popular discontent, there could be no safety in their continuance. The most considerate among them advised to apply to Massachusetts, and solicit their protection. The following year the settlements voluntarily submitted themselves to the jurisdiction of that government, upon condition that they might enjoy the same privileges. An union having been formed between the settlements on the Piscataqua, and the colony of Massachusetts, their history for the succeeding forty years is in a great measure blended.

17. In the year 1641 Sir Ferdinando Gorges incorporated the plantation of Georgeana* into a city, to be governed by a mayor and eight aldermen; his cousin, Thomas Gorges, was appointed mayor of the city, but had no successor in the office. The civil dissentions in England, with the subsequent events, obliged Sir Ferdinando to relinquish the idea of obtaining a general government over the colonies. He had ever been a firm royalist, and engaged personally in the service of the crown, till his own ruin was involved in that of the royal cause which he espoused. From the commencement of the civil wars, Gorges neglected the concerns of his plantation. The towns in the province of Maine fell into a state of confusion. Most of the commissioners who had been appointed to govern the province, deserted it; and the remaining inhabitants were, in 1649, obliged to combine for their own security.†

18. The colony of Massachusetts embraced this opportunity to induce the inhabitants to sub-

* This city is now called York. † Sullivan's hist. Maine, p. 238.

mit to their jnrisdiction; and as on encouragement to this measure, admitted them to be freemen upon taking the oath of allegiance, without requiring them to be of the commuion of any church. After this province had submitted to Massachusetts, in 1652 it was made a county by the name of Yorkshire, and the towns sent representatives to the general court at Boston. Though the measure was strenuously opposed by some men of eminence among them, the people in general were contented, and derived considerable advantages from the new arrangement.

19. So great was the diligence and industry 1642
of the New-England planters, that they had already settled fifty towns and villages, erected between thirty and forty churches, and a larger number of parsonage houses. They had built a castle, forts, prisons, &c. and had founded a college, all at their own expense. They had furnished themselves with comfortable dwelling-houses, had laid out gardens, orchards, cornfields, pastures, and meadows, and lived under the regular administration of their own government and laws.*

20. The population of the country increased with such rapidity, that it was time to take possession of the islands upon the coast. Mr. Mayhew having obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, Nantucket, and Elizabeth's Isles, settled his son in the former of these islands, with a small number of planters.

21. The civil wars which raged in England during the reign of Charles I., retarded, for a time, the increase of the colonies, and occasioned

* Neal, vol. i. p. 118.

the death of the king, the overthrow of the monarchical government, and ecclesiastical hierarchy. Though the settlers of New-England were on the parliament side, their situation precluded them from taking an active part; and they enjoyed the blessings of peace and plenty, while they were distant spectators of the miseries of their native country.*

645 22. The affairs of New-England were, at this period, in so flourishing a situation, that the people were intoxicated with prosperity, and the liberty they enjoyed threatened their ruin. In some of the internal divisions which agitated Massachusetts, Mr. Winthrop was charged, while deputy-governour, with some arbitrary conduct. He defended himself at the bar, in the presence of a vast concourse of people, and having been honourably acquitted, addressed them afterwards from the bench,† in a speech which has been said "to equal any thing in antiquity, whether we consider it as coming from a philosopher or a magistrate."‡

23. The following extract from governour Winthrop's address tends to illustrate the political opinions of that day. "The questions," said he, "which have troubled the country of late, have been about the authority of the magistrate, and the liberty of the people. Magistracy is certainly an appointment of God, and I intreat you to consider that you choose your rulers from among yourselves, and that we take an oath to govern you according to God's laws, and the laws of our country, to the best of our skill; if we commit errours, not willingly,

* See Goldsmith's Hist. Eng. † Washington's Life.
‡ Universal History.

but for want of ability, you ought to bear with us. Nor would I have you mistake your own liberty. There is a liberty in doing what we list, without regard to law or justice; this liberty is indeed inconsistent with authority; but civil, moral, federal liberty, consists in every one's enjoying his property, and having the benefit of the laws of his country; this is what you ought to contend for, with the hazard of your lives; but this is very consistent with a due subjection to the civil magistrate, and paying him that respect which his character requires." 163

24. This excellent address was of equal benefit to the reputation of Mr. Winthrop, and the peace of the colony. It settled him firmly in the esteem and affections of the people, and the general court; and by his well-timed condescension, he became more powerful than ever. New-England was, at this period, in a state of perfect tranquillity, which was used for the conversion of the Indians, an account of which will be given in the subsequent chapter.

25. From the facts related in this chapter, we learn, that one prominent trait in the character of our ancestors, was the attention they paid to the education of the rising generation. "They were," says an eminent author,* "convinced by their knowledge of human nature, derived from history and their own experience, that nothing could preserve their posterity from the encroachments of tyranny, but knowledge diffused generally through the whole body of the people. Their civil and religious principles therefore conspired to prompt them to use every mea- 1639

* Adams on the Feudal and Canon Law.

sure, and take every precaution in their power, to propagate and perpetuate knowledge."

26. The object of our ancestors in founding a college, was to enlist science and religion under the same banners, to guard against the disadvantage of an illiterate ministry, and to qualify their sons to act their part well, in whatever profession they might engage. Let us of the present age be instructed by their example, to guard against the prejudices of ignorance, and under their wise institutions, improved as they have been by succeeding generations, let us be careful to acquire a competent fund of information for the correct discharge of the duties of our respective situations in society. Young people have the weightiest motives to stimulate them to the acquisition of knowledge. It tends to make them more useful in the world, to enlighten them in the paths of virtue, and, by expanding their minds, to render them more capable of the enjoyments of the heavenly state.

CHAPTER VI.

1646—1695.

Of the Natives of New-England, and their conversion to christianity by Rev. Mr. Eliot. A society is established for propagating the Gospel in New-England. The town of Natick built. An Indian Church formed. Conversion of the Indians at Martha's Vineyard, and at Plymouth. Number of Indian Churches.

1. WHEN the European adventurers first settled in New-England, the natives were

a wild and savage people. Their mental powers were wholly uncultivated; and they were immersed in the thickest gloom of ignorance and superstition.

2. Their religious ideas were extremely weak and confused. They admitted, however, the existence of one Supreme Being, whom they denominated the great spirit, the great man above, and appeared to have some general but very obscure ideas of his government, providence, universal power, and dominion. They believed him to be a good being, and paid a sort of acknowledgement to him for plenty, victory, and other benefits.

3. But they stood in greater awe of another 1637.
power, which they called Hobomocho, in English, the devil, and worshipped him merely from a principle of fear.

4. The immortality of the soul was universally believed among the Indian tribes. Hence it was their general custom to bury with the dead their bows, arrows, spears, and some venison, which they supposed would be beneficial to them in a future state.

5. They believed in a number of subordinate deities. Their priests began and dictated their religious worship, and the people joined alternately in a laborious exercise, till they were extremely fatigued, and the priests exhausted even to fainting. They had neither temples, altars, nor any fixed seasons for devotional exercises.

6. One of the prominent traits in the character of the Indians, is an unextinguishable thirst for revenge. In war "the manly defence of an enemy inspires only revenge, and bravery con-

quered shares the same fate with timid resistance." The miseries they inflict on their unfortunate captives exhibit a dreadful picture of the savage ferocity of which human nature is capable.*

1646 7. The planters of New-England were assiduously engaged in endeavouring to effect their conversion to christianity. This was one of the obligations of their patent, and one of the professed designs of their settlement. Among those, who exerted themselves with the greatest energy in this work, Rev. John Eliot, of Roxbury, claims a distinguished rank; and he was styled the apostle of the American Indians.

8. In order to prosecute this benevolent design, he applied himself with persevering diligence to studying the Indian language, and be-
1664 came so complete a master of it, as to publish an Indian grammar. Thus prepared he began on the 28th of October to instruct the natives in the christian religion at Nonantum, which at present is included in the town of Newton. The Indians welcomed his arrival, heard him with attention, and asked a variety of questions respecting the important subjects of his discourse.

9. Encouraged by this favourable reception, Mr. Eliot exhibited his disinterested concern for their salvation, by frequently preaching to the different tribes and by framing catechisms in their dialect, to instruct them in the principles of the christian religion; by endeavouring to civilize their manners; by procuring the establishment of schools; and by supplying

* See Neal's history of New-England, and Roger Williams' Key to the Language of the Indians in New-England.

them with suitable school-books, which he trans- 1637
lated into their language.*

10. In his ministerial capacity he travelled through all parts of Plymouth and Massachusetts, as far as Cape-Cod. In these fatiguing excursions he suffered innumerable insults; and his life was in continual danger from the inveterate enmity of the Indian princes and priests, who would undoubtedly have effected his destruction, if they had not been awed by the power of the English colonies.

11. Notwithstanding various discouragements, the christian religion spread both in Massachusetts and Plymouth. The new converts, who were distinguished by the name of the praying Indians, after they renounced paganism, abandoned their savage way of living, and imitated the habits and manners of their civilized neighbours.†

12. After Mr. Eliot had continued his benevolent labours several years, certain pious people in England assisted him by their generous donations. And in 1649 the British parliament passed an act incorporating a number of persons, by the name of the "President and Society for propagating the gospel in New-England," empowering them to receive such sums of money as could be collected by the liberality of those who were interested in promoting the conversion of the Indians. By authority of this act so large a collection was made in all the parishes in England, that the society were enabled to purchase an estate in land of between five and six hundred pounds a year.

* Mather, p. 197. † Gookin's Historical Collections.

13. Upon the restoration of king Charles II. they solicited and obtained a new charter, by which they were made a body corporate, and empowered to appoint commissioners residing in New-England, to transact affairs relating to the benevolent design of converting the Indians. The charter substituted a governour for a president, and the hon. Robert Boyle was elected to that office.

14. In 1650 the corporation were at the expense of erecting another building near the former college, in order to give the Indians a liberal education. But though a few of them were there educated, yet it was found impracticable to persuade the Indian youth to a love of literature.

15. This year a number of Mr. Eliot's con-
1651 verts united, and built a town which they called Natick. Having formed a settlement, and established a civil government, they were at length, after a strict examination, formed into a regular church. Several other societies of praying Indians were also formed in the colony of Massachusetts. In 1664, Mr. Eliot accomplished the arduous work of translating the bible into the Indian language. His disinterested labours rendered him highly venerated and beloved by the new converts.

1646 16. While Mr. Eliot was converting the Indians within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, Mr. Mayhew, who had obtained a grant of Martha's Vineyard, and his son, a clergyman of dtstinguished piety, were promoting the same benevolent design in that place, and in Nantucket and Elizabeth's Isles. The first convert to christianity in Martha's Vineyard was one Hiac-

comes, a man of about thirty years of age. His religion exposed him to the contempt of his countrymen, till, in the year 1645, a general sickness prevailed in the island, from which Hiaccomes and his family were exempted. The Indians were induced by the event to alter their conduct, and a number of them requested Hiaccomes to instruct them in the christian religion.

17. Some time after, the sachem sent for Mr. Mayhew, and requested him in his own and his people's names, to teach them the principles of christianity, in the Indian language. Mr. Mayhew readily complied, and his labours were crowned with great success.*

18. He pursued his design with unwearied application, for ten or fourteen years; till at length, intending a short voyage to England, he sailed in 1657; but the ship and passengers were lost. His death was exceedingly lamented by his converts. In 1684 the Indians had ten stated places for publick worship in Martha's Vineyard.*

19. Mr. Roger Williams endeavoured to convert the natives of Rhode-Island to the christian religion; but his exertions were in general frustrated. The labours also of Rev. Mr. Fitch, among the Connecticut Indians, were not attended with the desired success.

20. Mr. Richard Bourne preached the gospel to the Indians at Plymouth; and was instrumental in converting large numbers. In 1684 the praying Indians in this colony had ten worshipping assemblies; and in the following year the number of individuals was computed

* Mayhew's letter to the Corporation, 1631.

to be fourteen hundred and thirty-nine, besides children under twelve years of age.*

21. A letter from Mr. Increase Mather to Dr. Leusden, of Utrecht, dated 1687, gives an idea of the progress of the gospel among the Indians for twenty years. In this letter he says that "there are six churches of baptized Indians in New-England, and twelve assemblies of catechumens. There are twenty-four Indian preachers, and four English ministers, who preach in the Indian language."

22. Dr. Cotton Mather asserts, that in the year 1695, there were three thousand adult Indians converted in the islands of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. That there were three
1637 churches in Nantucket, and five constant assemblies. That in Massachusetts alone, there were above thirty Indian congregations, and more than three thousand converts; and that their numbers were very considerable in other parts of the country.

23. It does not appear that the christian Indians returned to paganism, but that they gradually wasted away, till at length they became almost extinct.

24. The ignorance and darkness of the natives of New-England, and the savage ferocity of their character teach us duly to appreciate the inestimable advantage of being educated and early instructed in the christian religion. The spirit of revenge, which education and habit conspire to strengthen in the savage state, is productive of the most pernicious effects in society, and exhibits, in a striking manner, the

* Mayhew's letter to the Corporation, 1651.

inconceivable degree of barbarity of which human nature is capable, when destitute of the refinements of polished society, and the restraints of reason and religion. Christianity has civilized the world, exalted the human intellects, softened the ferocity of war, taught us compassion towards our enemies, and strengthened every social tie. Such are its advantages with respect to this state, which, however great, are small when compared with those which regard futurity. "Life and immortality are brought to light by the gospel." That divine religion, which regulates our conduct, and promotes our happiness in this world, exalts us to the enjoyment of eternal and unclouded felicity in the heavenly state.

CHAPTER VII.

1648—1661.

The New-England Churches convene a Synod. Their Platform of Church Government. The Colonies establish a Code of Laws. Death and Character of Governour Winthrop. Persecution of the Baptists and Quakers. Four Quakers put to death in Boston. King Charles II. puts a stop to the Execution of these sanguinary Laws.

1. THE religious inhabitants of New-England were solicitous to establish the faith and order of their churches upon what they supposed to be the scripture foundation. For this

purpose a synod convened at Cambridge in 1646, which, having adopted the confession of faith published by the assembly of divines at Westminster, chose three celebrated clergymen to form separately a plan of church government. These performances were presented to the synod for their revision and correction, and from these the Cambridge platform was collected, which being approved by the majority of the synod, was recommended to the general court and to the churches.*

2. The fundamental article in this platform is, that each particular church has authority from Christ, for exercising government and enjoying all the ordinances of worship within itself. Ecclesiastical councils were to be convoked for advice on emergent occasions. It was also maintained in the platform, that the offices of pastors, teachers, and ruling elders were distinct. Pastors were to attend to exhortation, and teachers to doctrine; yet both were to administer ordinances. Ruling elders were, in a special manner, to assist the pastors and teachers in the discipline of the church.

3. While the colonies were increasing in numbers and settlements, regular codes of laws were necessary for the advancement, order, and happiness of their respective jurisdictions.† At a general court in New-Haven, the 5th of April, 1643, considerable progress was made

* Mather, book v. p. 22.

† The synod met in 1646, and protracted its session, by adjournments, to the year 1648, when it was dissolved. The ministers and churches at Conpecticut and New-Haven were present at the synod and united in the form of discipline which it recommended.

in the laws of the colony. Deputies were sent to the general court, and an addition was made to the number of magistrates.

4. In 1647, the general assembly of Rhode-Island established a code of laws agreeable to the English statutes, and erected a form of civil government for the administration of those laws, and for enacting such others as should be found necessary. "A court of commissioners consisting of six persons chosen by each of the four towns of Providence, Portsmouth, Newport and Warwick were invested with the legislative authority. The whole executive powers appears to have been invested in a president and four assistants chosen by the freemen in their several towns, and constituting the supreme court for the administration of justice."*

5. The following year the colony of Massa- 1643
chusetts first published its code of laws. At the request of the general court, Rev. John Cotton had compiled a system, founded chiefly on the laws of Moses, which was published in London, 1643. This abstract was considered by the legislative body as the general standard, though they never formally adopted it, and even varied from it in many instances. They professed to follow Moses' plan, so far only as it was of a moral nature, and obligatory on all mankind.†

* Holmes' American Annals.

† It was the opinion of the first planters, not only of Massachusetts, but of Plymouth, New-Haven and Connecticut, that as the ancient platform of God's law; was granted on principles of moral equity, "all men, especially christians, ought to have an eye to it, in the forming of their political constitutions." See Hutchinson's collection of papers, p. 160.

649 6. At the session of the general court of Connecticut, a code of laws was established, and this colony had the appearance of a well-regulated commonwealth. Until this time punishments, in many instances, had been left wholly to the discretion of the court. But from this period, the laws in general became fixed, and the punishments of particular crimes were specified, so that delinquents might know what to expect, when they had the temerity to transgress.

7. The celebrated John Winthrop, esq. died about the beginning of this year, aged 63. His death was greatly lamented in Massachusetts, and he was styled the father of the colony. He was educated in the profession of the law, in which he was eminent for his abilities and integrity. The high place he held in the public esteem was evinced by his being appointed a justice of the peace at the age of eighteen. When a number of influential characters formed the design of removing to New-England, he put him at the head of the undertaking, and devoted his estate and strength to the public service. The inhabitants of Massachusetts manifested their high sense of his worth, by choosing him eleven times successively to be their governour. Prudence and justice marked his conduct in that station. He was distinguished for temperance, frugality, and economy; and ever exhibited a supreme regard for religion. The only errour, which has been charged upon his administration, resulted from his maintaining the necessity of using coercive measures in religion. However, he finally rose superior to the prejudices of the

age in which he lived, and in his dying moments feelingly regretted that his conduct had been tinged with the spirit of religious intolerance.*

8. The fatal effects, which were produced by enforcing uniformity in religious worship, are now to be related. This year some of the inhabitants of Rehoboth adopted the sentiments of the baptists, withdrew from the established worship, and set up a separate meeting. Upon which Mr. Obadiah Holmes, one of the principal dissenters, was first admonished, and afterwards excommunicated by Rev. Mr. Newman, minister of that town. Immediately after, he and two of his associates were cited to appear before the court at Plymouth; by which they were ordered to desist from their separation, and neither to ordain officers, administer the sacraments, nor assemble for public worship. They viewed these restrictions as arbitrary violations of their christian liberty; and resolved to act agreeably to the conviction of their consciences.† 1651

9. After remonstrances and threatenings were found to be ineffectual, the baptists were fined and imprisoned, and even exposed to corporal punishment. A law also was enacted by the general court of Massachusetts, by which upon their presisting in avowing their opinions, and endeavouring to make proselytes, they were sentenced to banishment. But neither this nor other severe penal laws, made against sectaries,

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 151.

† Backus' History of the Baptists. Clark's Narrative of the New-England Persecution.

could prevent the increase of this denomination.*

10. After the settlers of New-England had exerted themselves to suppress the baptists, they exhibited similar intolerant principles in their behaviour to the quakers. The first of this society who came into Massashusetts were Mary Fisher and Anna Austin, who arrived from Barbadoes, the beginning of July. The books which these women brought over were burnt by the common executioner, and they were committed to prison by the deputy-governour, and, after about five weeks confinement, were sent back to Barbadoes.

11. Soon after their departure, eight others of the same persuasion arrived in Boston. After some examination they were sentenced to banishment, and to be detained in prison until they could be conveyed out of the colony. They were imprisoned about eleven weeks; during which time a law was enacted, which prohibited all masters of vessels from bringing any quakers into the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, under the penalty of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment until payment thereof was made. It also decreed that any quaker coming into the country should be committed to the house of correction, severely whipped, constantly kept to hard labour, and debarred from all intercourse with any person whatever, until they could be transported.

12. This act, and the banishment of the quakers, proving insufficient, other sanguinary

* A Baptist church was gathered in Boston in 1665. See Holmes' American Annals.

laws were enacted, such as cutting off the ears, and boring the tongues with a hot iron. Through a mistaken zeal to extirpate heresy, these laws were in various instances put in execution.*

13. The severity with which this denomination was treated, appeared rather to invite than to deter them from flocking to the colony. The 165?
persecution exercised against them had a direct tendency to increase their numbers. People first compassionated their sufferings, admired the fortitude with which they endured them, and from these causes were induced to examine and embrace their sentiments.

14. Large numbers in Boston, Salem and other places joined this society. Their rapid increase induced the magistrates to resort to the last extremity, and to enact a law to banish them upon pain of death. Accordingly four quakers were executed in Boston in 1659.—Great opposition being made to this law, it was passed only by a majority of one person.†

15. The colonies of Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-Haven copied after Massachusetts in their treatment of the quakers, but did not carry their severity to such an extent, as to put any of them to death.

16. These unhappy disturbances continued 1661
till the friends of the quakers in England interposed, and obtained an order from king Charles 2d. requiring that a stop should be put to all capital or corporal punishment of his subjects called quakers. This occasioned a suspension of the cruel laws which had been enacted against

* History of the Quakers. † Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 198.

them, so far as they respected corporal punishment or death.

17. To us who live in an enlightened age, where the principles of religious toleration are clearly understood, the conduct of the early settlers of New-England must appear truly astonishing; and we may be led to asperse them with unmerited censure. In reviewing the conduct of those who have appeared on the theatre of life before us, we ought ever to consider the influence which the prevailing prejudices of the age in which they lived must naturally have had upon their minds. It was late before the true grounds of liberty of conscience were known by any party of christians. The bloody persecutions in the annals of popery fill the mind with horror; and we find traits of the same intolerant spirit in the conduct of the reformers.

18. The church of England, by enforcing uniformity in religion, had driven the puritans to seek an asylum in the new world, where, after suffering various hardships, they had established a religious system to which they were firmly attached. Influenced by the prejudices of education, they considered it as a duty to suppress those religious tenets which they supposed diametrically opposed to christianity, and subversive of the peace and happiness of the newly established colonies. The principles they had imbibed appeared to them in a light so important, that they took every precaution to transmit them pure and uncorrupted to the latest posterity.

19. A review of the distressing scenes, which persecution has occasioned both in Europe and America, ought to inspire our minds with the most lively gratitude to divine Providence for the entire liberty of conscience, which is at present enjoyed in each individual state, and the security of which constitutes a distinguished excellence in the federal constitution.

CHAPTER VIII.

1661—1679.

The Colonies congratulate King Charles II. on his Restoration. Of the third Synod in New-England. Connecticut and New-Haven are united by a Charter. Of the Charter granted to Rhode-Island. Four Commissioners sent to New-England by the King.

1. SOON after the restoration of Charles II. the general court of Massachusetts dispatched Simon Bradstreet, esq. and Rev. John Norton, with a loyal address of congratulation to his majesty, in which they endeavoured to justify the conduct of the colony, and petitioned for the continuance of their civil and religious privileges. The reception of the agents was favourable, and they returned next autumn with the king's answer to their address, in which he confirmed the charter, and promised to renew it under the great seal. He also granted pardon to his subjects for all treasons committed during

1661 the late troubles, those only excepted who were attainted by act of parliament.

2. The king however required that the general court should review its ordinances, and repeal such as were repugnant to the royal authority; that the oath of allegiance should be duly administered to every person, that justice should be administered in his name; that all who desired it should be permitted to use the book of common prayer, and perform their devotions according to the ceremonies of the church of England; and that free-holders of competent estate, not vicious, should be allowed to vote in the election of officers civil and military, though of different persuasions respecting church government; and finally, that this letter should be published.*

3. Many of the requisites contained in the king's letter were exceedingly disagreeable to our ancestors. At this session of the general court the only compliance with his orders, except publishing his letter, was the giving it directions that all the writs, processes, &c. should be in his majesty's name. A committee was afterwards appointed to consider the propriety of conforming to the other particulars, and liberty was given to the clergy and other inhabitants to transmit their opinions.

4. Whilst the colonies were alarmed with apprehensions for their civil liberties, their churches were agitated by religious controversies. Great debates arose among the clergy, concerning the right of grand children of church

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 219.

members to the sacrament of baptism, whose immediate parents had not entered into the communion. This dispute commenced in the colony of Connecticut, and spread with rapidity through New-England.*

5. In order to settle the controverted points, the general court of Massachusetts convoked a synod, or general council of all the churches, to be assembled at Boston. The two leading 1662
questions referred to their decision were, 1st. Who are the subjects of baptism? 2. Whether, according to the word of God, there ought to be a consociation of churches, and in what manner such a union should be formed?

6. In answer to the first question, the majority of the synod agreed that the children of good moral parents who solemnly owned the covenant before the church, though not in full communion, might be admitted to baptism.*

7. However, the council were not unanimous; several learned and pious clergymen protested against the determination relative to baptism. Rev. Charles Chauncy, president of Harvard College, Mr. Increase Mather, and Mr. Davenport wrote against the practice. It was disapproved by all the ministers in New-Haven, and numbers in Connecticut. The churches in general were more in opposition than the clergy.

8. The general court of Connecticut took no notice of the synod, nor of the dispute, but left the elders and churches at liberty to act according to their own sentiments. They were attempting to form an union with New-Haven,

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 219. Mather's Magnalia.

and as the ministers and churches in that colony were unanimous in their opposition to the synod, they probably judged it impolitic at that time to decide any thing relative to these ecclesiastical points.*

9. Respecting the second question, the synod agreed, that the churches ought to hold communion with, and assist each other in prayer, in communicating their gifts, in maintaining peace and unity, in settling controversies, in ordaining and removing pastors and teachers, in admonishing one another, and in bearing their united testimony against vice and errour.†

10. Connecticut and New-Haven had continued two distinct governments for many years. At length the general court of Connecticut determined to prefer an address to Charles II. professing their submission and loyalty, and soliciting a royal charter. John Winthrop, esq.‡ who had been elected governour, was appointed to negociate the affair with the king. He succeeded and obtained a charter, which constituted the two colonies one united commonwealth, by the name of the
1662 governour and company of Connecticut. New-

* Trumbull, vol. i. p. 325. † Mather, book v. p. 76.

‡ John Winthrop, eldest son of governour Winthrop was born at Groton in Suffolk, 1605. He came to New-England with his father's family, 1634. After he obtained a charter which incorporated Connecticut and New-Haven, the people expressed their gratitude by electing him governour fourteen years together, till his death. His many valuable qualifications as a gentleman, a philosopher, a christian, and a public ruler procured him the universal respect of the people under his government, and his unwearied attention to public business, and great understanding in the art of government was of unspeakable advantage to them. He died in the year 1676. See Belknap's American Biography. Vol. II.

Haven at first declined the union; but in 1665, all difficulties were happily settled.*

11. By the royal charter, every power legislative, judicial, and executive, was vested in the freemen of the corporation, or their delegates, and the colony was under no obligation to communicate the acts of their local legislature to the king. The government which they had previously exercised, was established, and when the other New-England states renovated their politics, the charter of Connecticut was continued as the basis of their unchanging policy, and remains so to the present day.†

12. The royal charter which was granted 1663
to Rhode-Island and Providence plantations, the subsequent year, was similar to that of Connecticut. They differed however in one respect. The charter of Connecticut was silent with regard to religion; by that of Rhode-Island liberty of conscience was granted in its fullest extent† to all the different denominations of Protestants.‡

13. From the commencement of the reign of Charles II. the general court of Massachusetts entertained alarming apprehensions of being deprived of their privileges. These fears were increased by the king's issuing a commission to 1664
four persons, one of whom was an inveterate enemy to the colony, to hear complaints and appeals in military, civil, and criminal concerns,

* See Charter of Connecticut in Trumbull's History.

† See Charter of Rhode-Island.

‡ The Legislature of Rhode-Island, however, passed an act by which Roman Catholics were excepted from eligibility to office.

and settle the peace and security of the country according to their own discretion.

665 14. After the arrival of the commissioners, the general court altered the law, that all freemen should be church members; and having resolved to bear true allegiance to their sovereign, and adhere to their patent, they agreed upon an address to the king, in which they professed their loyalty, and asserted that they had exerted themselves to satisfy his majesty as far as they supposed consistent with their duty to God, and the just liberties and privileges of their patent. They considered the appointment of the commissioners with the powers they possessed, to be an infringement of their charter privileges, which they declared were "far dearer to them than life." They exhibited the same firmness and resolution in their conduct to the commissioners, who, after much altercation left the colony dissatisfied and enraged.*

15. The commissioners were unsuccessful in Connecticut as well as Massachusetts, but were more favourably received in Plymouth and Rhode-Island. They set as a court at Providence and Warwick, and spent some time in the colony, inquiring into the proceedings of the executive powers of the plantation, and hearing complaints from disaffected persons.

16. When the commissioners arrived in New-Hampshire, they flattered a party who were dissatisfied with the Massachusetts government, with being freed from its jurisdiction, and pre-

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 229.

vailed on them to sign a petition to the king for 166
that purpose. But as the majority of the people exhibited a determined opposition to a separation, the design proved abortive.*

17. When the commissioners came to the province of Maine, the former claim under Gorges† was revived. They appointed courts and commissioned magistrates under the duke of York, and in the name of the king. This kind of government continued until the year 1668, when some of the principal inhabitants being greatly oppressed with the tyranny of the commissioners, in their support of Gorges' claim, made application to the general court of Massachusetts, to take the country again under their protection and jurisdiction.

18. When the commissioners had concluded their business, they were recalled by an order from the king. His majesty was highly displeased with the treatment they received from the government of Massachusetts. By a letter to the colony, he ordered them to send over four or five agents, promising to hear all the allegations that could be made in their behalf, and intimating that he was far from desiring to invade their charter. He commanded that all things should remain as the commissioners had

* Belknap, vol. i. page 106.

† Ferdinando Gorges, grandson of Sir Ferdinando, attempted a settlement of the district of Maine under himself as lord proprietor; soon after the restoration of Charles II. he obtained a letter from that king requiring immediate restitution, or reason for the contrary without delay. In a humble address the people excused their non-compliance, and attempted to offer reasons for their conduct. Mr. Gorges, however, appointed officers in several parts of the province, whose authority was of short continuance. See Hutchinson's History, vol. i. page 256.

settled them, till his farther orders; and that those persons who had been imprisoned for petitioning or applying to them, should be released.*

19. The reception which the commissioners met with in the colonies, exhibits their strong aversion to arbitrary power. The inhabitants of New-England, says a late writer, may emphatically be said to be born free. They were settled originally upon the principle expressed at this day, in all their forms of government, "that all men are born free, equal, and independent."†

CHAPTER IX.

1674—1679.

Rise and Progress of the War with Philip, King of the Wampanoags. The Death of Philip puts a Period to Hostilities. His Character. Of the War with the eastern Indians. Peace ratified with the Indian Tribes. Of the third Synod in Massachusetts.

1. SINCE the contest with the Pequod Indians, the terror of the English arms had restrained the natives from hostilities. In the mean time, providence had smiled upon the New-England settlements, and multiplied their churches. The season was now arrived in which the colonies were alarmed with the gloomy prospect of being again involved in an Indian war.

1674 2. At this period, Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags, an artful and aspiring man, who

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 547. † Sullivan, p. 285.

saw the continual growth of the colonists with jealous apprehension, excited his countrymen to a general combination against them. He endeavoured to conceal his hostile purposes, and when his conduct excited suspicion, he gave the strongest assurances of his peaceable disposition. In the mean time he was secretly preparing for war by obtaining arms, and negociating with the neighbouring Indians.

3. The war was precipitated by the revenge which Philip caused to be taken upon John Susaman, a christian Indian, whom the English had dispatched upon the Wampanoag mission. Having discovered the conspiracy of his countrymen, he revealed it to the governour of Plymouth; and a short time after he was murdered. An Indian, who was accidentally on a hill at some distance, saw the murder committed. Upon his evidence and some other circumstances, three Indians were apprehended, tried, convicted, and executed.*

4. This event excited the keenest resentment in king Philip, and the Indians who resorted to him from various parts, stimulated him to commence hostilities. The alarming situation of affairs having induced the governour of Plymouth to proclaim a general fast, the Indians lying in an ambush, fired upon a number of the inhabitants at Swanzey, who were returning from public worship, killed one man, and wounded another; and two men who were dispatched for a surgeon were intercepted and killed. The same night the Indians entered the town of Swanzey and killed six men.

* Hutchinson, vol. i. page 285.

1675 5. As the war was now inevitable, the governour of Plymouth demanded assistance of the confederated colonies. Accordingly, a company of horse and foot from Massachusetts joined the Plymouth forces at Swanzey, and making a resolute assault which obliged the Indians to retreat with precipitation, took possession of Mount Hope, and ravaged the adjacent country.

6. The Massachusetts forces marched into the Narraganset country, and compelled the inhabitants to renew their treaty with the English, and engage to exert themselves to destroy Philip and his adherents. In the mean time the Plymouth forces were sent to deter the Pocasset Indians from assisting him, but they had already taken an active part.

7. Capt. Church of Plymouth colony with fifty men was surrounded in a pease field by two hundred Indians, and notwithstanding the inequality of numbers, fought with invincible courage and resolution. At length he arrived at the water side, and defended himself behind a barracade of stones, till he was removed in a sloop to Rhode-Island, without the loss of one of his men. After refreshing his detachment he again engaged, and killed a number of the Pocasset Indians; the remainder retreated with terror, and appeared no more in the open country.

8. After Capt. Church's detachment had joined the army, they received information that Philip and his men were in a swamp at Pocasset, and it was determined to besiege him. The

* Church's account of Philip's war, page 18.

English army resolutely entered the thicket, but 1675
when they had advanced a few paces, the Indians fired upon them from behind the bushes, and at one discharge killed five, and mortally wounded six or seven of their number. This induced them to turn their attack into a blockade, which they formed with an hundred men, hoping that famine would oblige the Indian prince to surrender. He had the address to baffle this attempt by crossing a river in the night, which the English deemed impassible, and escaped into the Nipmuck country.

9. After the Nipmuck Indians heard of Philip's arrival in their country, they fired upon and mortally wounded Capt. Hutchinson, who was sent to negociate with them, killed eight of his men, and obliged the rest to retreat with precipitation. Philip who was reinforced, pursued and drove a large number of these Indians into an house, which the Indians endeavoured to set on fire, but they were providentially prevented by a shower of rain. At length they were relieved by major Willard, who engaged the Indians with a small party, killed eighty, and forced Philip and his army to retreat.*

10. The Indians in the several colonies were now roused to arms, and in this and part of the following year, their progress was marked with murder, fire, and desolation. Besides destroying a large number of the English, they laid the towns of Mendon, Groton, and Warwick in ashes; burnt most of the houses in Deerfield, 1676
half the town of Medfield, and a large number

* Mather, book vii. p. 47.

of buildings in Rehoboth, Providence, and several other places.

11. On the other hand, large numbers of Indians were destroyed by the colonists; particularly when Philip and his army retreated into the Narraganset country, the English pursued them and attacked a fort which the Indians deemed impregnable. The fort was burnt, the fortifications levelled; seven hundred Indian warriors perished in the action, and three hundred warriors died of their wounds, besides a vast number of defenceless old men, women, and children, who had repaired to the fort for refuge. The English had six captains and eighty-five men killed; and an hundred and fifty men wounded.*

12. The victory depressed the spirits of the
1676 Indians, and the loss of provisions in the fort reduced them to great distress. They however continued their savage depredations, and kept the country in continual alarm and terror. It is reported that in order to gain the assistance of the Mohawks, Philip endeavoured to irritate them against the colonists, by killing a number of their men, and persuading their prince that his subjects were murdered by the English. One of the Indians, whom he left for dead, revived, returned home, and related the truth to his countrymen. Exasperated by this perfidious conduct, the Mohawks engaged in a war against Philip and his people, which deranged all their measures.

13. After this event, the arms of the colonists were in various instances crowned with

* Mather, book vii. p. 30.

success. One of Philip's allies, the queen of Pocasset, on being surprised by the English, magnanimously animated her men to hold out to the last extremity; but they meanly deserted her, and she was drowned by endeavouring to escape. 1676

14. As Philip was the soul of the Indian conspiracy, and on his life or death, war or peace depended, it was the grand object of the New-England forces to apprehend him. His situation was at this time peculiarly distressing. He had lost his chief counsellors, his nearest relations were made prisoners, and he was obliged to flee, for safety from one swamp to another. At length one of his friends whom he had exasperated by killing an Indian who presumed to mention to him an expedient for making peace, discovered the place where he was concealed. Capt. Church, on receiving this intelligence, went with a small party, and found him in a swamp near Mount Hope. He attempted in vain to escape; one of his men whom he had offended, and who had deserted to the English, shot him through the heart.*

15. Thus died Philip, sachem of the Wampanoags, an implacable enemy to the English nation. He has been represented as a "bold and daring prince, having all the pride, fierceness, and cruelty of a savage in his disposition, with a mixture of deep cunning and design." But that undaunted courage, energy of mind, and love of country which adorned his character, and which have immortalized monarchs in

* Church's History of Philip's War.

the civilized world, have been little celebrated in this Indian prince; and we have been led to contemplate only his vices, which, destitute of the colorings of polished life, appear in their native deformity.

16. "The death of Philip," says a late excellent author, "was the signal of complete victory. The Indians in all the neighbouring countries now generally submitted to the English, or fled, and incorporated themselves with distant and strange nations. In this short but tremendous war, about six hundred of the inhabitants of New-England, composing its principal strength, were either killed in battle, or murdered by the enemy; twelve or thirteen towns were entirely destroyed; and about six hundred buildings, chiefly dwelling houses, were burnt. In addition to these calamities the colonies contracted an enormous debt, while by the loss of their substance, through the ravages of the enemy, their resources were essentially diminished." *

17. About the same period in which Philip began hostilities in Plymouth colony, the eastern Indians were insulting the inhabitants of New-Hampshire and the province of Maine. The fraudulent methods of trading with the natives, and some other injuries, were alledged as the grounds of the war.

18. The Indians for some time dissembled their resentment, but the insurrection at Plymouth inspired them with courage, and they spread distress and desolation in their extensive

* Holmes' American Annals, vol. 1. p. 455.

ravages. To describe the effects of the war in 1676
the words of an elegant author, "all the plantations at Piscataqua, with the whole eastern country, were now filled with fear and confusion; business was suspended, and every man was obliged to provide for his own and his family's safety. The labour of the field was exchanged for the duty of the garrison; and they, who had long lived in peace and security, were upon their guard night and day, subject to continual alarms, and the most fearful apprehensions." *

19. Notwithstanding a peace was concluded with the natives the following year, they soon renewed their hostile attacks, which induced the government of Massachusetts to send a body of troops to the eastward. They surprised four hundred Indians at Cochecho in the house of major Waldron. Those, who had previously joined in concluding the peace, were dismissed; and those who were found accessaries in the war sold for slaves in foreign parts. In 1678 a formal treaty of peace was settled with the Indian chief at Casco, and an end was put to a tedious and distressing war, which had subsisted three years.

20. While the New-England forces were in the field, the churches frequently observed days of fasting and prayer, for the success of their arms. After peace was established, a licentiousness of manners prevailed, which was highly alarming to serious and devout people. Hence in 1679, the General Court of Massachusetts convened a synod to examine the state of religion, and to prevent the increase of profaneness and impiety.

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 137.

21. The synod agreed that there was a general decay of piety and a prevalence of pride, intemperance, profaneness, and other vices.—They advised, that in order to promote a reformation the clergy should be exhorted to bear the strongest testimony against the vices of the age, in their public discourses; and to maintain a strict discipline in their churches; that schools should be strictly inspected and supported; and that the magistrates should be vigilant in putting the laws in execution. This synod also passed a vote recognizing and confirming the platform of church discipline, which was agreed upon by the synod of Cambridge, in 1648, desiring that the churches might continue stedfast in the order "of the gospel, according to what is therein declared agreeable to the word of God."

22. From the above account of the distressing Indian war, we learn, how dear our ancestors purchased the rich inheritance which descends to us. As an elegant writer observes—"they had a foe to subdue, who added to the instinct and fierceness of the brutal creation the sagacity of human intellect. Efforts of desperate resolution in penetrating the treacherous recesses of the wilderness were the only means of preserving the inhabitants from the subtile surprises and merciless ravages of their enemy.—The nature of such a conflict is hardly to be realized, in a territory invaded by a civilized foe, where the regular operations of war afford some rule for calculating the times and degrees of calamities, and where defeat is not the certain presage of torture and death."*

* Minot's continuation of Hutchinson.

CHAPTER X.

1679—1692.

The Government of New-Hampshire separated from Massachusetts, and made a Royal Province. Of Cranfield's oppressive Government. The Colonies are deprived of their Charters. Colonel Dudley appointed President of New-England. He is superceded by Sir Edmond Andros, who is appointed Governour. His arbitrary Proceedings. The Revolution in England puts a period to the oppression of the Colonists. A new Charter granted, and Sir William Phips chosen Governour.

1. WHILST the Indian tribes were endeavouring to extirpate the English, enemies of another kind were using every effort to deprive them of their privileges, by artful and exaggerated accounts of their conduct to the government of England.

2. At this period one Mr. Mason, who 1679
claimed a right to New-Hampshire from his grandfather, Capt. John Mason, endeavoured to dissolve the union, which had long subsisted between that colony and Massachusetts. He was assisted in his claim by Edward Randolph, his kinsman, an inveterate enemy to the people of New-England. They succeeded, and a commission passed the great seal, which separated New-Hampshire from the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

3. By this commission a president and council were appointed by the king for the government of the province. The people however

were allowed to choose an assembly, to whom the president should recommend enacting laws for establishing their allegiance, order, and defence, and raising taxes for the support of government, in such a manner as they should think proper. All laws were to be approved by the president and council, and to remain in force until the king's pleasure should be known; for which purpose, they should be transmitted to England by the first ships.*

1680 4. In order to reconcile the minds of the people to this change of administration, the king nominated for the first council, those who had sustained the principal offices, civil and military under the colonial government. The apprehensions that others, who were inimical to their country would be substituted, induced them to accept this appointment; and affairs were conducted as nearly as possible, in the same manner as before the separation.

5. The people were greatly dissatisfied in being deprived of the privilege of choosing their own rulers, and expected an invasion of their property to follow.† Their apprehensions were soon realized. In 1682 Henry Cranfield, Esq. was appointed lieutenant-governour and commander in chief of New-Hampshire. After his arrival he exhibited his arbitrary principles by removing the leading characters from the council, and substituting such as he could render subservient to his purposes; by dissolving those assemblies which opposed his measures; by assuming, with his council, all the legislative

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 170. † Ibid.

power, and taxing the people without their consent; by subjecting those clergymen who refused, when requested, to administer the sacraments according to the liturgy of the church of England, to the penalties of the statutes of nonconformity; and by imprisoning and treating with rigorous severity those who opposed his government.

6. At length, the governour being disappointed in his plans of enriching himself, and fearing the issue of the people's remonstrances to parliament, returned to England, where he obtained the collectorship of Barbadoes. Barefoot the deputy governour succeeded at his departure.*

7. New-Hampshire was not the only colony 168
which felt the oppression of arbitrary power. The enemies of Massachusetts, particularly Randolph, were indefatigable in transmitting complaints to England. In consequence of these he was ordered to convey a writ of quo warranto across the atlantic. When he arrived in Boston the general court once more considered the critical situation of affairs. The governour and a majority of the assistants resolved to submit to the royal pleasure; but upon the representatives' refusing their consent, a decree was issued by the high court of chancery, against the governour and company, by which their charter privileges were cancelled.†

8. King Charles II. died soon after the colony of Massachusetts was deprived of its charter. Upon the accession of James II. a com-

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 229. † Ibid. p. 229.

mission was issued for a president and council, as a temporary government for Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Maine, and Narraganset. The counsellors were nominated by the king; and no house of representatives was mentioned in the commission. Col. Dudley, a native of Massachusetts, was appointed president; and in order to conciliate the minds of the people to the introduction of a governour-general, the courts were continued on their former plan; trials were by juries as usual; and in general the former laws and established customs were observed.

1686 9. After Colonel Dudley had enjoyed his new office about nine months, Sir Edmond Andros, who had been governour of New-York, arrived in Boston, being appointed, during pleasure, captain-general and vice-admiral of Massachusetts, New-Hampshire, Maine, Plymouth, Rhode-Island, Connecticut, and Pemaquid. He and his council were vested with the legislative and executive powers. Though he began his administration with high professions of regard for the public welfare, he soon exhibited his arbitrary principles, and enriched himself and his party, by the most daring violations of the rights of the people.*

10. Notwithstanding the assembly of Rhode-Island had passed an act, formally surrendering their charter to the king, and had transmitted an humble address to his majesty, they gained no advantage by their submissive conduct. Andros, in compliance with his orders, dis-

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 222.

solved their government, and assumed the ad- 1687
ministration of the colony.*

11. The following year he came to Hartford with a small body of troops, while the assembly were convened; demanded the charter, and declared the government dissolved. It is reported that governour Treat described with energy the great expense and hardship of the colonists in settling the country; and their extreme reluctance to part with privileges so dearly purchased. Expedients were then found for delaying the business till evening, when the charter was brought and laid upon the table, where the assembly were sitting. The candles were suddenly extinguished and instantly relighted. Capt. Wadsworth carried off the charter, and secreted it in a hollow tree. The people were peacably and orderly, but the patent could not be found. Sir Edmond however assumed the government, and having discarded the old, appointed new civil and military officers.†

12. Numerous were the oppressions which 1688
the country suffered under his administration. The press was restrained, liberty of conscience infringed, and exorbitant taxes demanded. The charter being vacated, the validity of titles to lands was denied; and those who had long cultivated their farms, were obliged to give extravagant fees for new patents, or writs of intrusion were brought and their lands disposed of to others. To deter the people from consulting together and seeking redress, town-meetings

* Revolution in New-England justified.
† Trumbull vol. i. p. 390.

were prohibited, except one in a year, for the choice of town officers. Being apprehensive that complaints would be transmitted to England, the governour forbade any person to leave the country without his express permission. But notwithstanding all his vigilance and that of his emissaries and guards, Dr. Increase Mather sailed to England, and presented the complaints of the people to the king, but not being able to obtain redress, he waited the event of the expected revolution.*

689 13. The following year the report that the prince of Orange had landed in England, reached Boston, and diffused universal joy. The governour imprisoned the person who brought the prince's declaration, and published a proclamation commanding all persons to prepare to oppose an invasion from Holland. Though the former magistrates and leading men secretly wished and fervently prayed for the prince's success, they determined quietly to wait the event.

14. The body of the people were however too impatient to be restrained by prudential considerations. They assembled in arms, and imprisoned the governour, and about fifty of the most obnoxious of his associates. The people of Massachusetts re-assumed their charter government. Andros and his coadjutors were sent to England, to be disposed of according to the king's pleasure. But as the charges exhibited against them were not signed by the colonial agents, they were dismissed, and the tyrant of

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 231.

New-England was afterwards appointed gover- 1688
nour of Virginia.*

15. The people were soon relieved from all apprehension of danger from their precipitate conduct, by the intelligence that William and Mary had been declared king and queen of England. They were soon after proclaimed in Boston, with uncommon ceremony, and with demonstrations of the sincerest joy.

16. After the inhabitants of Connecticut and Rhode-Island were informed of the change of affairs in Massachusetts, they resumed their ancient charter and form of government. But as New-Hampshire was left by the revolution in an unsettled state, a convention was called, in which it was determined to re-annex itself to Massachusetts. This union, however, was of short continuance. In 1692, Samuel Allen, after purchasing of Mason's heirs the lands of New-Hampshire, obtained a commission for the government of this colony.†

17. After the revolution in England, the 1691
general court of Massachusetts dispatched two of their members to join with Sir Henry Ashurst and Mr. Mather in soliciting the restoration of their charter. But as the king, from the first application, exhibited his determined resolution to have the appointment of the governour and all other officers vested in the crown, their solicitations were ineffectual.‡

18. They succeeded however in obtaining a new charter, by which the colony of Plymouth, the province of Maine, and the country

* Minot, vol. i. p. 58. † Belknap.
‡ Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 405.

of Nova-Scotia, with lands between the two latter were joined to Massachusetts, and also Elizabeth Islands, Nantucket, and Martha's Vineyard.

19. By the new charter, the appointment of the governour, lieutenant-governour, secretary, and all of the officers of the admiralty were vested in the crown.* The governour had the control of the militia, and, with the advice of the council, the nomination of the officers belonging to the courts of justice. He had also a negative upon the choice of counsellors, and upon all laws and elections made by the council and house of representatives; and even those laws which he sanctioned were subjected to rejection by the king within the term of three years from their passing. The power of granting administrations and proving wills, was also vested in the governour and council. But though the privileges of the people were abridged in these respects, liberty of conscience, which was not mentioned in the old, was expressly granted in the new charter.†

692 20. When the charter had passed the seals, the king being pleased to compliment the Massachusetts agents, for the first time, with the

* Under the old charter all the magistrates and officers of state were chosen annually by the general assembly. See Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 4.

† "The difference between the old charter and new, consisted in an express authority for exercising powers which had been in constant use from supposed necessary implication. These were the privilege of a house of representatives as a branch of the legislature, the levying of taxes and erecting courts for the trial of capital crimes, and the probate of wills and granting of administrations on intestate estates, which was expressly given to the governour and council." See Minot's continuation of Hutchinson.

choice of their governour, they agreed to elect 1692
Sir William Phips, who, with Rev. Increase Mather, arrived in Boston the 15th of May.—The general court appointed a day of thanksgiving for their safe arrival and for the settlement of the province.

21. The first act of the Massachusetts legislature, after the arrival of their charter, contained the following clause: "No aid, tax, tollage, assessment, custom, loan, benevolence, or imposition whatsoever, shall be laid, assessed, imposed, or levelled on any of his majesty's subjects, or their estates, on any pretence whatever, but by the act and consent of the governour, council, and representatives of the people, assembled in general court."

22. At the time when the colony of Massachusetts received their new charter, seventy-two years had elapsed since the first settlement at Plymouth. During this period the colonies enjoyed the privilege of choosing their own rulers, and enacting their own laws. They had established excellent regulations for the promotion of learning and religion. They had exhibited great courage in the Indian wars, and their efforts to repel their savage enemies were crowned with success.

23. After forty years from the first settlement, the greatest part of the early emigrants had terminated their earthly existence.* They had however the satisfaction of surviving until they beheld the fruits of their assiduous labours in the increase of the settlements and multiplica-

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 286.

tion of the churches. "In 1643, the first twenty thousand souls, who came over from England, had settled thirty-six churches. In 1650 there were forty churches in New-England, which contained seven thousand seven hundred and fifty communicants.*

24. There appears to be a striking likeness in the characters of the first settlers of New-England. This may be owing to the similarity of their education, of their civil and religious sentiments, and the common cause in which they were engaged. The leading traits for which they were distinguished, were ardent piety, inflexible resolution, and persevering diligence. Their piety led them to prefer the sacred rights of conscience to all earthly considerations; their resolution and firmness induced them to encounter perils and hardships in the new world; and their persevering diligence enabled them to effect comfortable settlements.

25. The early inhabitants of New-England evinced their supreme regard for religion by choosing men for their rulers who were eminently distinguished for piety and integrity. Among the first governours we find the ever revered names of Carver, Bradford, Winthrop, Haynes, Eaton, and other worthies, who were blessings to their respective colonies, and shining patrons of the christian virtues and graces.

26. Many of the clergymen who came to New-England at the first settlement were celebrated for their abilities and learning, and while they devoted their talents to promoting the cause

* Styles' Manuscript Lectures on Ecclesiastical History.

of religion, they were exemplary in the performance of all the private and public duties it enjoins. We may mention Cotton,* Hooker, Davenport and Eliot, who rank in the first class among the collection of pious and learned divines who illuminated the churches of New-England.

27. A modern British author, in speaking of the first settlers of New-England, has justly observed, "that the victories they obtained over the complicated obstructions which they met with upon their arrival in America, have raised their character to a level with that of the bravest people recorded in history, in the estimation of the few, who can consider facts divested of that splendour which time, place and circumstances are apt to bestow upon them, and from which they derive their lustre with the generality of mankind."*

CHAPTER XI.

1688—1692.

War with the Eastern Indians renewed. Expedition against Nova-Scotia and Canada. Treaty of Peace concluded with the Indians. Of the supposed Witchcraft in New-England.

1. PREVIOUSLY to the revolution in government which was related in the foregoing 1688

* Mr. John Cotton was styled the patriarch of New-England; he was distinguished for the sweetness of his temper; for his great abilities, profound learning, and eminent piety. Messrs. Hooker and Davenport were highly useful in founding the colonies of Connecticut and New-Haven; and Mr. Eliot's pious labours to christianize the Indians have immortalized his memory.

1688 chapter, a fresh Indian war broke out on the frontiers of New-England. As a pretence for commencing hostilities, the natives charged the English with refusing to pay the tribute stipulated in the treaty of 1678, with interrupting their fishery in Saco river, with defrauding them in trade, and granting their lands without their consent.

2. Their resentment was enflamed by the Baron de Castine, a Frenchman, who resided with the Indians at Penobscot, and had acquired great ascendancy over their minds. He complained that the colonists had run a line which included his plantation, and that they had plundered his house and fort of goods and implements of war. By these complaints he excited the Indians to revenge their mutual injuries. They began hostilities by killing a number of the inhabitants of North Yarmouth.*

3. Instigated by an inextinguishable thirst for revenge, they determined to retaliate the seizure of the four hundred Indians at the house of major Waldron, which took place in 1676. The major then commanded at Cocheco, a frontier fort of great importance. Mesandoit, a sachem, who was hospitably lodged at his garrison during night, opened the gates to a large number of Indians, who lay in ambush. They rushed in, barbarously murdered the major and twenty-two others, burned several houses, and took twenty-nine captives, who were sold to the French in Canada.†

4. In order to check the depredation of the savages, the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces proceeded to the eastward, settled garrisons at

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 241. † Belknap.

convenient places, and had some skirmishes with the natives at Casco Bay, and Blue Point. The Indians did much mischief by their flying parties, but no important action was performed on either side during the remainder of the year.

5. As the French had instigated the Indians 1690
to commence and continue the war, the colonists were induced to attack them at their settlements in Nova-Scotia and Canada. They exerted themselves to the utmost to raise forces, and gave the command to Sir William Phips. The first of these expeditions was crowned with success: Port Royal, being in no condition to support a siege, soon surrendered. The people were hence encouraged to prosecute their design against Canada, and equiped an armament in some degree equal to the service. But the arrival of the fleet at Quebec being retarded till the season was far advanced, and the troops being sickly and discouraged, they were obliged to abandon the enterprise.

6. The inhabitants of New-England were greatly dispirited by this disappointment. The equipment of the fleet and army occasioned a great expense, which they were little able to support, and a thousand men perished in the expedition. It was happy for the country that the Indians at this time voluntarily came in, on the 29th of November, and proposed a suspension of arms; and a truce was agreed upon till the following May; in consequence of which peace was preserved during the winter. But after the renewal of hostilities they burnt the town of York, killed fifty of the people, and ca-

ried one hundred into captivity.* They continued their savage depredations until 1693, when a peace was concluded with them at fort Pemaquid.

7. Whilst the Indians were laying waste the frontiers of New-England, a new species of distress, originating from supposed witchcraft, filled the minds of the people with gloom and horrour. The prevailing credulity of the age, the strength of prejudice, the force of imagination, operating on minds not sufficiently enlightened by reason and philosophy, all conspired to produce this fatal delusion.

8. In the year 1692, a daughter and neice of Mr. Parris, minister of Salem, one nine and the other eleven years of age, were seized with singular and unaccountable complaints. A consultation of physicians was called, one of whom was of opinion that they were bewitched. An Indian woman, who resided with Mr. Parris, had recourse to some experiments, which she pretended were used in her own country, in order to discover the witch. The children being informed of this circumstance, accused the Indian woman of pinching, pricking, and tormenting them in various ways. This first instance was the occasion of several private fasts in Mr. Parris' house, and a number of others were observed in the colony.†

9. The attention and compassion which the children excited, probably induced them and allured others to continue their imposture. The number of complainants who pretended to be

* Hutchinson, vol. i. p. 200. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 25.

seized with similar disorders, continually increased; and they accused certain persons of being the authors of their sufferings. As the most effectual way to prevent an accusation was to become an accuser, the number both of the afflicted and accused was continually increasing.

10. The accused in general persisted in asserting their innocence. Some, however, were induced to confess their guilt, being warmly importuned by their friends to embrace this expedient, as the only possible way to save their lives. The confession of witchcraft increased the number of the suspected; for associates were always pretended by the party confessing. These pretended associates were immediately sent for, examined, and generally committed to prison.*

11. Though the number of prisoners had been augmenting from February to June, yet none of them had as yet been brought to trial. Soon after the arrival of the charter in 1692, commissioners of oyer and terminer were appointed for this purpose. At the first trial there was no colonial nor provincial law in force against witchcraft. But before the adjournment of the general court, the old colony law, which 169
makes witchcraft a capital offence, was revived and adopted by the whole province.

12. In this distressing period nineteen persons were executed, one pressed to death, and eight more condemned. Among those who were executed was Mr. Burroughs, formerly minister at Salem, who left his people upon some

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 30. Hale, p. 26.

692 difference in religious sentiments. Those who suffered death asserted their innocence in the strongest terms. Yet this circumstance was insufficient to open the eyes of the people; and their fury augmented in proportion as the gloom of imagination increased.*

13. The affairs of Massachusetts were now in such a wretched situation that no man was sure of his life and fortune for an hour. An universal consternation prevailed. Some charged themselves with witchcraft, in order to prevent accusation and escape death; some abandoned the province, and others were preparing to follow their example.†

14. In this scene of perplexity and distress, those who were accused of witchcraft were generally of the lowest order in society. At length the pretended sufferers had the audacity to accuse several persons of superiour rank and character. The authority then began to be less credulous; prisoners were liberated; those who had received sentence of death were reprieved, and afterwards pardoned. By degrees the whole country became sensible of their mistake, and a majority of the actors in this tragedy, expressed sincere repentance of their conduct.

693 15. Whilst a review of the conduct of the inhabitants of New-England at this distressing period, induces us to accuse them of credulity and superstition, we ought to soften the asperity of our censure by remembering that they were led into this delusion by the opinion of the greatest civilians and divines in Europe. A similar

* See Dr. Cotton Mather's wonders of the invisible world.
† Hale, p. 33. Calef.

opinion respecting witchcraft was at the same time prevalent in Great-Britain. The law, by which witches were condemned, was copied from the English statutes, and the practice of courts in New-England, was regulated by precedents established in the parent country. These statutes continued in force in England some time in the reign of George II. when it was enacted, "that no prosecution should in future be carried on against any person for conjuration, witchcraft, sorcery, or enchantment."*

CHAPTER XII.

1694—1713.

Sir William Phips recalled. His Death and Character. War with the Indians renewed. Peace concluded. The Earl of Bellamont appointed Governour. His arrival at Boston. His death at New-York. Yale College founded. Dudley appointed Governour. Indian War. Reduction of Port Royal. Unsuccessful Expedition against Canada. Peace concluded with the French and Indians. 1679

1. THE New-England colonies had for about a year been relieved from the calamities of war, but the interfering claims of the English and French would not permit the sword to be long sheathed. In 1692, the Sieur de Villieu was in command at Penobscot, and with the assistance of Thury, the religious missionary

* Blackstone's Commentaries.

from the French nation, persuaded the eastern Indians to break their treaty, and prepare for hostilities.

2. Whilst the war with the Indians was impending, the people became dissatisfied with the government, and transmitted complaints to the king against Sir William Phips. He and his accusers were cited to repair to Whitehall, and having obtained a recommendation from the general assembly, he embarked for England. But before his cause could be heard, he was suddenly seized with a malignant fever, of which he died in 1695, at the age of forty-five years.

3. Sir William Phips was born of poor and obscure parents, in the eastern part of New-England. His education had furnished him with few advantages for literary improvement; but he had passed through a variety of scenes in active life. His first employment was that of keeping sheep; he was next a ship carpenter, and afterwards a seaman. Having amassed a considerable fortune by discovering a Spanish wreck near Port de la Plate, he was introduced to men of rank and fortune, and rose to distinction. Though he did not possess the reputation of being a deep politician, he was a man of great industry, enterprise, and firmness, attentive to the duties of religion, and studious to promote piety and virtue in others.*

1694 4. After Sir William Phips left the province, the authority devolved upon lieutenant-governour Stoughton. Previously to his entering on his administration, the country was again invol-

* Mather, vol. ii. p. 66. Life of Sir William Phips.

ved in the calamities of war. The Sieur Villien, with a body of two hundred and fifty Indians, collected from the tribes of St. John, Penobscot, and Norridgwog, marched against the people on Oyster river, in New-Hampshire, killed and captivated about an hundred persons, and burned twenty houses, of which five were garrisons.

5. During the remainder of this and the subsequent winter, the Indians continued to ravage the frontiers. In 1696, they, in conjunction with the French, took and demolished Pemaquid fort;* and exulting in their success, threatened to involve the country in ruin and desolation.

6. This year a fleet sailed from France to 169
Newfoundland; expecting to be joined by an army from Canada, in order to assault Boston, and ravage the coast to Pascataqua; but the season being far advanced, and their provisions scanty, the French were obliged to relinquish their design of invading the country. After the peace of Ryswick took place, the governour of Canada informed the Indians that he could no longer support their cause, and advised them to bury the hatchet, and restore their prisoners. This induced them to enter into a treaty at Casco, by which they submitted to the British government.

7. After the war in Europe was terminated, 169
the king appointed the earl of Bellamont governour of New-York, Massachusetts, and New-Hampshire. The earl arrived in Boston, May 26, 1699, and in the same year held two sessions of the general court. The politeness and affa-

* On a point of land, and at the mouth of a river of the same name, a little to the east of Booth-bay, in the district of Maine.

1686 bility of his behaviour, his attention to the habits and manners of the colonies, and his respectful attendance upon the congregational lectures, conciliated the minds of the people, who treated him with the utmost deference. His death, which took place at New-York, March 18th, the following year, was greatly regretted by the people in his several governments.*

8. The inhabitants of New-England were solicitous to use those intervals when they were not engaged in war with the natives, in promoting the means of instruction. In 1699 the Hon. William Stoughton, lieutenant-governour of the province of Massachusetts, erected a building for the accommodation of the students at the university of Cambridge. It was called "Stoughton Hall" after his name, and served to perpetuate his memory.

9. The design of founding a college in Connecticut, was first concerted by several respectable and pious ministers of that colony, with a primary view to the education of youth for the ministry. Ten of the principal clergymen, upon being nominated to stand as trustees in order to establish this institution, convened at New-Haven in 1700, accepted the charge, and founded a college at Killingworth. The following year they obtained a charter from the general assembly of Connecticut, and a grant of money for the encouragement of this infant seminary.†

10. The college was removed to Saybrook in 1707, where it continued till 1716, when it was permanently fixed at New-Haven; and the

* Belknap, vol. i. p. 281.
† Holmes' Life of president Stiles, p. 386.

following year a large and commodious building was erected for the reception of the students. At the first commencement, which was held at New-Haven in 1718, it was called Yale College, in commemoration of governour Yale's great generosity, who had been one of its most liberal benefactors.

11. The inhabitants of Connecticut paid great attention to the religious as well as the literary state of the colony. In 1708 a synod was convened at Saybrook, composed of the ministers and delegates from the churches of Hartford, New-Haven, Fairfield, and New-London, with two or more messengers from a convention of the churches in each county. This synod drew up the form of church government and discipline, which is styled the Saybrook platform; and which became the established constitution of the Connecticut churches.

12. This year, queen Anne, who succeeded king William, appointed Joseph Dudley, esq. governour of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. In conformity to his instructions, he required the fixing of a permanent salary for himself and his successors. But the tendency of this measure to establish the controul of the crown over the proceedings of the legislature, was so well understood, and met with such a spirited opposition, both from the council and house of representatives, that after a long contest the governour was obliged to relinquish the object.* 1702

13. The savage tribes, instigated and assisted as usual by the French, were preparing for

* Minot, vol. i. p. 59.

1703 hostilities when governour Dudley began his administration. In order to avert, if possible, the calamity of a fresh war, the governour held a conference with delegates from the Indian tribes, and though they gave the strongest assurances of their pacific disposition, a body of French and Indians soon after attacked all the settlements from Casco to Wells; killed and took about an hundred and thirty persons, and burned many buildings. At this distressing period, the women and children repaired to the garrison, the men went armed to labour, and posted sentinels in the fields, and the whole frontier country, from Deerfield to Casco, was kept in continual terrour by small parties of the enemy.*

14. In February 1704, the Indians made a descent upon Deerfield, a remote settlement on Connecticut river. After putting forty of the inhabitants to death, and taking about an hundred captive, they departed, leaving a considerable number of the buildings in flames. They conducted the prisoners to Canada where Vaudreuil, the French governour, treated them with great humanity.

1704. 15. The colonies raised forces to repel their savage attacks, and the chief command was given to Col. Church, who had rendered himself famous by his exploits in Philip's war. By governour Dudley's order, he led his army to the eastern shores. At Pascataqua he was joined by a body of men, under Major Hilton who did him eminent service. The English army de-

* Belknap. Penhallow's Hist. of the Wars of New-England.

stroyed the towns of Minas and Chiegnuto, and did considerable damage to the French and Indians at Penobscot and Passamaquoddy.* 1705

16. The governour at this period deputed several gentlemen to Canada, for the exchange of prisoners. They returned with a number of the inhabitants of Deerfield, and other captives. The French governour sent a commissioner to Boston with proposals for a neutrality; though governour Dudley was unwilling to accede to his plan; yet by protracting the negociation, the frontiers were preserved tolerably quiet during the remainder of this year.

17. In April, the Indians killed eight, and 1706
wounded two people, near Oyster river. The garrison was near, but not a man in it. The women however seeing nothing but death before them, put on hats, loosened their hair, and fired so briskly, that the enemy apprehending the people were alarmed, fled without burning or even plundering the house they had attacked.†

18. The following year the colonists made 1707
an attempt against Port Royal; but from a disagreement among the officers, and a misapprehension of the state of the fort and garrison, they were unsuccessful. In the mean time the Indians continued their destructive depredadations. In 1708 they penetrated into Massachusetts, burned part of the town of Haverhill, killed about an hundred of the inhabitants, and took a large number of prisoners.

* Church's History of the Indian War, p. 169.

† Belknap, vol. 1, p. 329.

1710 19. This year the territory of Acadie* was subdued by the surrender of Port Royal. Col. Vetch was appointed governour, and its name was changed to Annapolis, in honour of queen Anne. This success encouraged the colonists to attempt the reduction of Quebec. General Nicholson sailed to England to solicit assistance for this purpose, and his application was successful.†

1711 20. The combined army of British and Americans, engaged in this enterprize, amounted to about 6500 men. The fleet sailed from Boston on the 30th of July, and the English and Americans entertained the most sanguine hopes of success. These were all blasted in one fatal night, when eight transports were wrecked on Egg Island, near the north shore, and a thousand people perished, among whom there was but one man who belonged to New-England. The expedition was relinquished, and the people felt the keenest disappointment and regret. The failure of this expedition encouraged the Indians to continue their ravages until the following year, when intelligence of the treaty of Utrech arrived in New-England; and, on the 29th of October, a suspension of arms was proclaimed at Portsmouth; and the Indians, no longer stimulated to hostility, by the French, readily concluded a peace.‡

21. During the war, Massachusetts and New-Hampshire were particularly exposed to the ravages of the Indians, which prevented the

* The name by which Nova-Scotia was known when it belonged to the French.

† Wynne's History of the British Empire.

‡ History of Canada.

increase of their population in proportion to the other colonies. Since Philip's war, it was computed that Massachusetts had lost from five to six thousand soldiers. This province, whilst the war lasted, was also subjected to heavy taxes, without any compensation from the parent state.

22. Notwithstanding these difficulties retarded the population of Massachusetts, many new townships were formed in the province. The New-England churches, in the mean time, were rapidly multiplying. In 1696 there were an hundred and thirty churches formed in the colonies; thirty-five of which were in Connecticut. For seventy years from the first settlement of this colony, the congregational was the only mode of worship. Some of the people at Stratford, who had been educated in the episcopalian sentiments, in 1706, introduced a clergyman of that persuasion. The novelty of the affair, and other circumstances, gained a considerable assembly; and he baptized twenty-five persons. This was the first step towards introducing the episcopal worship in the colony.*

23. In the year which restored peace to the colonies, the long contested question, of boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut, was settled to the satisfaction of both parties, and the lands, granted to Connecticut, were applied for the support of Yale college. In the same year the contest, respecting the boundary with Rhode-Island, was also adjusted by agreement. 1713

* Trumbull.

24. At this period forty-five towns were settled in Connecticut, and the number of ordained ministers was forty-three. There were besides candidates preaching in the towns, in which churches were not formed. The inhabitants of this colony had multiplied to about seventeen thousand.

25. Although about two years since, the greatest part of the town of Boston was laid in ashes, by an accidental fire;* and, notwithstanding the inhabitants of New-England were considerably in debt, on account of the late war, it was soon rebuilt in a far more elegant and commodious manner than before. This evinced the prodigious acquisitions the people had made by commerce and industry, since the foundation of the colony. The peace of Utrech greatly increased the wealth and happiness of New-England. The authors of the Universal History observe, that, "the inhabitants of those colonies, to their native love of liberty, added now the polite arts of life; industry was embellished by elegance; and, what would have been hardly credible in ancient Greece and Rome, in less than fourscore years, colonies, almost unassisted by their mother country, arose in the wilds of America, which, if transplanted to Europe, and rendered an independent government, would have made no mean figure amidst her sovereign states.†"

* October 30th, 1711. Massachusetts Historical Collections, vol. v. p. 52.

† Universal History, vol. xix. p. 334.

CHAPTER XIII.

1714—1730.

Accession of George I. Appointment of Col. Shute and Removal of Mr. Dudley. Of the Governour's Altercation with the People. Prevalence of the Smallpox. War with the French and Indians. Death of the Jesuit Ralle. Peace. Fort Dummer built. Appointment of Mr. Burnet. His Controversy with Massachusetts. He dies, and is succeeded by Mr. Belcher. Controversy respecting the Governour's Salary terminated.

1. GEORGE I. who ascended the throne of Great-Britain, after the death of queen Anne, appointed Col. Samuel Shute governour of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. Mr. Dudley was removed, and, having passed through many scenes of active life, retired to a private station. He was celebrated by his friends for his diligence, frugality, and judgment; whilst he was charged by his enemies with bribery, corruption, and other crimes. Ambition appears to have been his ruling passion; and his arbitrary principles rendered his administration unpopular in New-England. 1714

2. Col. Shute arrived in Boston, October 1st, and was received with the usual parade. The subsequent summer, attended by a number of the counsel from both provinces, he met the Indians at Arrowswick island, * and exerted all 1716

* In the District of Maine, near to Parker's island, in the mouth of Kennebeck river.

1716 his influence to confirm them in their friendship; and in order to induce them to relinquish the Roman catholic religion, in which they were instructed by the French, he offered them an Indian bible, and a protestant missionary. They rejected both, but as their aged men were extremely averse to a new war, they agreed, after some altercation, to renew the treaty which was made at Portsmouth.*

3. Some time elapsed before there was an open opposition to governour Shute's administration. Subjects of contention however arose, and multiplied during several years. In 1720 the popular resentment was highly inflamed, by his negativing of the choice of the speaker of the house of representatives, and dissolving the court upon their refusing to make another choice. He revived the controversy, respecting a fixed salary, which was begun by governour Dudley, and he was equally unsuccessful. The inhabitants of New-Hampshire were however satisfied with his government, as far as respected themselves, and contributed more than their proportion towards his support.

4. The opposition, which the governour met with in Massachusetts, induced him in 1722 to return to England. Upon his arrival, he exhibited a variety of complaints against the house of representatives. The British ministry were highly irritated, and concluded that it was the object of the people to be independent of the parent country. The result was, that the province was obliged to accept an explanatory charter, (August 12th 1726,) confirming

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. p. 121. Historical Collections, vol. iii.

the power of the governour to negative the speaker; and denying to the house of representatives the right of adjourning itself longer than two days.*

5. Whilst the province was distressed by internal divisions, and alarmed with the apprehension of a fourth Indian war, the prevalence of the smallpox, which raged in Boston and the other adjacent towns, was a source of additional calamity. In Boston 844 died of this disease. Dr. Cotton Mather, one of the principal clergymen in that place, having read of the practice of inoculation at Constantinople, recommended it to the physicians. They all declined it, except Dr. Boylston, who began with his own family, and proved successful. But the practice being new, he was obliged to contend with popular prejudice, and suffered much public odium on this account. 1721

6. In the mean time, the country suffered from the depredations of the Indians. The influence of the French was increased by Sebastian Ralle, a jesuit missionary, who had established a church at Norridgwog. He was a man of good sense, learning, and address, and an enthusiast for his country and religion. He exerted all the energy of his mind to inflame the passions of the Indians, against the colonists. In 1722 a body of troops was ordered to Norridgwog to seize Ralle, who having received an intimation of their design, had escaped. But they secured his papers, by which it appeared that the governour of Canada was deeply engag-

* Hutchinson, vol. ii. page 245.

ed in exciting the Indians to a rupture, and had promised them his assistance.

7. This attempt to seize their spiritual father stimulated the Indians to revenge. After committing several hostile acts, they made a furious attack on the town of Berwick, which they destroyed. This action determined the government to issue a declaration of war against them, which was published at Boston and Portsmouth, on the 25th of July.*

1725 8. The devastations of the Indians during this, and the subsequent year, caused the government to resolve on an expedition to Norridgwog. The captains Moulton and Harman, of York, at the head of a company of one hundred men, executed their orders with great address. They completely invested and surprised that village; killed the obnoxious jesuit with about eighty of his Indians; recovered three captives; destroyed the chapel, and brought away the plate and furniture of the altar.

9. This year the provinces of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire sent commissioners to the governour of Canada, to remonstrate against his injustice in countenancing the Indians, and to insist upon his withdrawing his aid. This remonstrance had the desired effect, and a peace was soon after concluded at Falmouth with the Indian tribes.

10. In the year 1724, a settlement was first made within the present limits of Vermont. The government of Massachusetts then built fort Dummer, upon Connecticut river. This fort was at that time admitted to be within Mas-

* Belknap, vol. ii. p. 51.

sachusetts. It was afterwards found to be in New-Hampshire, and is now included in the state of Vermont.*

11. After the departure of governour Shute, Mr. William Dummer, the then lieutenant governour, succeeded him in the administration of Massachusetts. Mr. Wentworth, lieutenant governour of New-Hampshire, managed the concerns of that province.

12. Upon the accession of George II. William Burnet, son to the celebrated bishop of Sarum, and a man of good understanding and polite literature, was appointed governour of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. He had positive instructions from the crown to insist upon a permanent salary, which being peremptorily refused by the assembly of Massachusetts, a warm altercation took place on this long contested point. New-Hampshire granted him a fixed salary on certain conditions. His death, which took place in 1729, has been supposed to have been the effect of his controversy with Massachusetts.

13. The English ministry highly resented 1730
the treatment, which Mr. Burnet, who had previously been a popular governour in New-York, and New-Jersey, received in Massachusetts, and it was proposed to reduce that province to a more absolute dependence upon the crown. However, a spirit of moderation finally prevailed, and Mr. Jonathan Belcher, a native of Massachusetts, was appointed governour, and was received in Boston with great joy. At the commencement of his administration he at-

* Williams' History of Vermont, p. 211.

tempted to obtain a fixed salary, but the assembly of the province continued their opposition with such inflexible perseverance, that he gave up the point, and endeavoured to obtain a relaxation in his instructions. A consent to receive particular sums was obtained for several years; and at length a general permission was conceded to receive such sums, as should be granted by the assembly. Thus the tedious controversy respecting the governour's salary was finally terminated.*

14. Whilst the provinces of Massachusetts and New-Hampshire were engaged in altercations with the governours, who were appointed by the crown, the colonies of Connecticut and Rhode-Island enjoyed, under their ancient charters, the privilege of choosing their own rulers.

15. Though the altercations between the governours appointed by the crown, and the general assemblies of Massachusetts afford little entertainment, simply considered; yet they appear more interesting when viewed as resulting from that love of liberty, which ever formed a distinguished trait in the character of the inhabitants of New-England. The opposition, which was made to fixing a salary on the royal governours, nurtured a spirit of independence; and early habits of resisting the encroachments of Britain, prepared them for that arduous contest which finally terminated in a separation from the parent state.

* Belknap, vol. ii. p. 95.

CHAPTER XIV.

1731—1749.

A Party is dissatisfied with Mr. Belcher's Government. Divisional Line settled between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire. Removal of Mr. Belcher. Mr. Shirley appointed Governour. Reduction of Louisbourg. Dispersion of the French Fleet. Treaty of Peace.

1. NOTWITHSTANDING governour Belcher's popular talents, and the integrity of his conduct, an opposition was formed against him, and complaints of his conduct were transmitted to England. Mr. Dunbar, the lieutenant-governour of New-Hampshire, was at the head of this party. Their object was not only to displace Mr. Belcher, but to obtain for that province a distinct governour, who should have no connexion with Massachusetts. In order to remove the obstacle which arose from the smallness of New-Hampshire, they were desirous to have the bounds of their territory fixed and enlarged. 1731

2. The controversy between Massachusetts and New-Hampshire, respecting the divisional line, was left to the decision of the lords of the council, who gave the latter a tract of country fourteen miles in breadth, and above fifty in length, more than they had ever claimed. Notwithstanding the politicians of Massachusetts were chagrined and enraged, and petitioned the king that he would re-annex the lands to

their government, their petition was rejected, and New-Hampshire formed into a separate government.*

3. In the mean time, Mr. Belcher's enemies were indefatigable in their endeavours to remove him; and by incessant applications to the ministry, by misrepresentation, falsehood, and forgery, they accomplished their views. He repaired to court, and having clearly evinced his integrity, and the base designs of his enemies, was appointed governour of New-Jersey, where he passed the remainder of his days in peace, and where his memory has been treated with merited respect. Mr. Belcher was succeeded in Massachusetts by William Shirley, Esq. and in New-Hampshire by Benning Wentworth, Esq.

1745 4. Intelligence of war with France and Spain being received in Massachusetts, the general court resolved to raise forces to attack Nova-Scotia. Governour Shirley projected an enterprize against Louisbourg, which from its great strength was called "the Dunkirk of America." Twenty-five years, and thirty millions of livres, had been employed in its fortifications.† In order to reduce this town, the governour solicited and obtained naval assistance from England, under the command of commodore Warren. The forces employed by Massachusetts amounted to upwards of 3,200 men. The colonies of New-Hampshire and Rhode-Island furnished each 300;‡ and Connecticut

* Belknap, vol. ii. p. 172.

† Modern universal history, vol. xix. p. 340.

‡ The forces from Rhode-Island did not arrive till after the surrender.

500. William Pepperill, Esq. of Kittery, was 174
appointed to command the land forces.

5. The final resolution for this enterprize against Louisbourg, was carried by the majority of one only. After the forces had embarked, the hearts of many began to fail. Some repented that they had voted for the expedition, or promoted it; and the most thoughtful were involved in the greatest perplexity.*

6. Towards the end of April, commodore Warren arrived from the West-Indies, with a sixty-four gun ship, and two ships of forty guns. He was soon after joined by another of forty, which had reached Casco a short time before. The men of war sailed immediately to cruise before Louisbourg. The forces soon followed, and landed at Chapeaurouge Bay, the last day of April. The transports were discovered from the town early in the morning, which gave the inhabitants the first knowledge of the design.

7. The second day after landing, four hundred men marched round behind the hills, to the northeast part of the harbour, in the night, where they burned the warehouses containing the naval stores. The clouds of thick smoke, proceeding from the pitch, tar, and other combustibles, driven by the wind into the great battery, terrified the French to such a degree that they abandoned it, and retired to the city, after having spiked the guns, and thrown their powder into a well.

8. The hardships of the seige were without parallel in all preceding American operations.

* Belknap, vol. ii. p. 214.

1745 The army was employed for fourteen nights successively, in drawing cannon, mortars, &c. for two miles through a morass to their camp. The Americans were yoked together, and performed labour beyond the power of oxen, which labour could be done only in the night, or in a foggy day; the place being within clear view and random shot of the enemy's walls.

9. The success of this enterprize was accelerated by the capture of the Vigilant, a French sixty gun ship with 560 men on board, and a great variety of military stores for the relief of the garrison. This event threw the enemy into great perturbation; and the preparations, which were evidently making for a general assault, determined Duchambon, the commanding officer, to surrender; and accordingly on the 17th of June he capitulated. The French flag however was kept flying as a decoy, by which means the enemy's ships, estimated at 600,000*l.* sterling, were taken by the squadron at the mouth of the harbour, where they sailed as usual, not knowing that the place had surrendered to the English.*

10. Upon entering the fortress and viewing its strength, and the plenty and variety of its means of defence, the most courageous were appalled, and the impracticability of carrying it by assault was fully demonstrated.

11. The weather was remarkably fine during the seige; but the rains began the day after the surrender, and continued ten days incessantly, which would undoubtedly have proved fatal to the expedition, had not the capitulation prevented.

* See letters relating to the expedition against Cape Breton, in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol i. See also Belknap, vol. ii. p. 221, 222.

12. The religious inhabitants of New-England contemplated with pious gratitude the remarkable interpositions of divine providence, in the reduction of this town, and the almost miraculous preservation of the army from destruction.*

13. The success of the expedition against Louisbourg excited universal joy in America, and filled Europe with astonishment. The enterprising spirit of New-England gave a serious alarm to those jealous fears, which had long predicted the independence of the colonies. But though the English were disposed to ascribe the merit of the conquest to the navy, colonel Pepperill received with the title of baronet, the more substantial reward of a regiment in the British establishment to be raised in America. The same honour and emolument were bestowed on governour Shirley; and after much difficulty and delay, parliament reimbursed the colonies for their expenses.† 1746

14. Whilst the British colonies, elated with success, planned a new expedition against Canada, the French, stimulated by revenge, formed the design of invading New-England. For this purpose a very powerful fleet and army, under the command of the duke d' Anville, sailed for the American coast. This formidable armament consisted of a large number of ships of war, and transports containing about eight thousand disciplined troops, with veteran officers, and all kinds of military stores.

* Prince's Thanksgiving sermon on the taking of Louisbourg, in 1745, p. 22-25.

† Marshal's Life of Washington.

1746 15. The colonies were disappointed in their expectation of a British squadron for their defence; and their situation appeared extremely dangerous. They were however at length providentially relieved. The French fleet was visited by such a mortal sickness, that thirteen hundred died at sea; and the greatest part of those who remained were extremely weakened and dispirited. In addition to this calamity, the fleet was dispersed by a violent tempest. The commander, in despair, put a period to his life by poison; and the vice-admiral fell on his sword. Part of the ships were lost, and those which escaped returned sickly to France.*

16. Dr. Belknap observes, "never was the hand of divine providence more visible than on this occasion. Never was a disappointment more severe on the side of an enemy, nor a deliverance more complete, without human help, in favour of this country."†

17. When the alarm occasioned by the French fleet had subsided, the season was too far advanced to prosecute the expedition against Canada. Governour Shirley was so intent upon attacking Crown Point, that he even proposed to march thither in the winter, and had the address to draw the assembly of Massachusetts into an approbation of his project; but the prudence of the Connecticut assembly, which refused to furnish their troops, frustrated this rash attempt until the ensuing spring. The termination of the war prevented the renewal of the plan. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle in 1748, it was stipulated,

* Prince's Thanksgiving sermon, p. 20.
† Belknap, vol. ii. p. 280, 283.

that all things should be restored to the footing they held before the war.*

18. No sooner were the distresses of war 174
closed by the renewal of peace, than the colonies of New-England were alarmed with the report of an American episcopacy, which it was the most earnest desire of Dr. Thomas Secker, late archbishop of Canterbury to establish.† The colonies were opposed to the introduction of episcopacy; because they supposed it would be accompanied with such a degree of civil power, as would at length infringe upon the rights of other denominations, and they had the satisfaction of finding the design of introducing bishops laid aside for the present.

19. This year Benning Wentworth, esq. governour of New-Hampshire, made a grant to that colony of a township six miles square, which, in allusion to his name, was called Bennington. Within the term of four or five years, he made several other grants on the west side of Connecticut river.‡

20. An elegant author observes, that "the war which terminated in 1748, displayed the character of the New-England colonies in an elevated point of view, with prospects of increasing greatness. And opportunities occurred of exhibiting that strength and spirit, which afterwards contributed so essentially to the aggrandizement of their mother country, and finally to their own sovereignty and independence.§

* Belknap, vol. ii. p. 254.

† See the letters of Dr. Secker, in the Appendix to the Life of Dr. Samuel Johnson, first president of king's college in New-York, by Dr. T. B. Chandler.

‡ Williams' Hist. of Ver. p. 212. § Minot's Contin. v. i. p. 89.

CHAPTER XV.

1753—1763.

Revival of the Disputes between the French and British colonies. Congress appointed. French expelled from Nova Scotia. Defeat of General Braddock. Mr. Pitt appointed prime minister. Louisbourg taken. Several French forts reduced. Quebec taken, after a severe battle, in which the Generals Wolfe and Montgomery are slain. Several French Islands reduced. Peace.

1. THE treaty of Aix la Chapelle had not satisfactorily adjusted the controverted points between the French and English concerning the limits of their respective settlements; and their interfering claims threatened to revive the flames of war. These circumstances induced Massachusetts and five other provinces, to appoint delegates to meet in convention at Albany in 1754, for the purpose of concerting measures for their mutual defence. The plan they proposed for the union of the colonies was however rejected both in America and in England, though the reasons for rejection in the two countries were opposite. In America it was considered as vesting too much power in the crown; in England it was opposed because it gave too much authority, to the legislative assemblies of the colonies.*

* Belknap, vol. ii. page 284.

2. This year several expeditions were undertaken against the French settlements. The first object was to expel them from Nova-Scotia. The forces which were raised for this purpose were chiefly from Massachusetts; but the command was given to Col. Monckton, a British officer. This enterprize was conducted with energy, and crowned with success. In the course of about a month, with the loss of only three men, the English found themselves in complete possession of the whole province. 1755

3. Gen. Braddock, soon after, with 2,200 British and provincial troops marched for Fort du Quesne.* The impetuosity of his temper led him to disregard the advice of his officers; he entered the woods without reconnoitering the enemy; by which means he fell into an ambuscade of four hundred, chiefly Indians, by whom he was defeated and mortally wounded. The regulars† were thrown into the greatest consternation, and fled in the utmost confusion. The militia, being accustomed to Indian fighting, were not terrified to such a degree. The general had disdainfully turned them into the rear, where they continued in a body unbroken, and under the conduct of Col. Washington, then his aid-de-camp, served as a most useful rear guard, covered the retreat of the British troops, and prevented their being entirely destroyed.‡

4. At the commencement of the following year, Lord Loudon was appointed to command 1756

* At the junction of Alleghany river with the Monongahela.
† The British disciplined troops.
‡ Entick's General History of the French War, vol. i. p. 143; and Marshal's Life of Washington, vol. i. p. 592

his majesty's forces in North America; and a dispute, between the British and American officers respecting their rank in the army, retarded the military operations. In the mean time, the Marquis de Montcalm, the French general, by the energy of his motions, gained great advantages. The French arms were also in various instances crowned with success in the subsequent year; in the close of which the affairs of Great-Britain, in North America, were in a more
1758 gloomy situation, than at any former period.

5. At this time the American affairs began to assume a brighter aspect. The great Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, was placed at the head of the British ministry. His administration united all parties, and restored such order, unanimity, and decision to the public councils, that the force of the empire was directed with success in every quarter of the globe.

6. The reduction of Louisbourg, which had been restored to the French by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was undertaken with enthusiasm and zeal; and the spirited exertions of the sea and land forces under admiral Boscawen and general Amherst were successful. Five ships of the line were taken, and the garrison, finding it impossible to support an assault, surrendered by capitulation.

7. In the mean time the conquest of Fort du Quesne, served to relieve the colonies from the savage depredations of the Indians, whilst it interrupted the correspondence through a chain of forts, with which the French had environed the English settlements in America. Fronte-

nac* also, a place of great importance, was sub- 175
dued by the English. These acquisitions overbalanced the check they had received at Ticonderoga, where general Abercrombie was defeated with great slaughter.

8. In consequence of the vigorous exertions, which were made by the English at the opening of the year 1759, Niagara, Ticonderoga, and Crown Point were reduced. In order to complete their conquests nothing remained but the reduction of Quebec, the capital of Canada, which was the central point of the British operations. Admiral Saunders was appointed to command the naval part of the expedition. The siege by land was committed to general Wolfe, a young officer of distinguished reputation, who, without being indebted to family or connections, had raised himself by merit to his present command. He was generous, affable, and humane, and added the amiable virtues to his military greatness.†

9. This enterprize was attended with a com- 175
bination of formidable difficulties. Gen. Wolfe was opposed by far superiour force, under the marquis de Montcalm, the most brave and successful general the French possessed. Though the situation of the country, which Wolfe was to attack, and the works which the French erected, to prevent the descent of the English, were deemed impregnable; yet Montcalm never relaxed in his vigilance. The city of Quebec was strongly fortified, secured by a numerous garrison, and plentifully supplied with provisions and ammunition.

* At the outlet of Lake Ontario. † Goldsmith's Hist. England.

1759 10. General Wolfe, in concert with admiral Saunders formed a plan for landing the troops on the northern bank of the river above the city; and attempted, by scaling the heights, hitherto deemed inaccessible, to gain possession of the ground at the back of the town, where it was but slightly fortified. The admiral, in order to deceive the enemy, moved up the river several leagues, beyond the spot, fixed upon for the landing; but during the night he fell down with the stream, in order to protect the disembarkment of the troops, which was accomplished in secrecy and silence.

11. The precipice now remained to be ascended; and with infinite labour and difficulty, the troops sustaining themselves by the rugged projections of the rock, and the branches of the trees and plants, which sprang from innumerable clefts into which it was every where broken, they at last attained the summit, and immediately formed in order of battle.*

12. The Marquis de Montcalm, when apprized that the enemy was in actual possession of the heights of Abraham, abandoned his strong camp at Montmorency, and advanced to the attack of the English army with great intrepidity. A very warm engagement ensued; and general Wolfe, who stood conspicuous in the front of the line, received a shot in the wrist; wrapping a handkerchief around it, he seemed not to notice the wound, but continued giving orders without the least emotion. But advancing at the head of the grenadiers, another ball

* Belsham's Memoirs of the Kings of Great-Britain, vol. ii. page 278.

pierced his breast, and compelled him to retire 1759
to a spot, a little distant from the field of action, where he expressed the most eager anxiety to learn the fate of the battle. After an interval of suspence, he was told that the enemy were visibly broken, and reclining his head on the arm of an officer, who stood near him, he was in a short time, aroused with the distant sound of "they fly!" "Who fly!" exclaimed the dying hero. On being told "the French," "then," said he, "I die content;" and almost immediately expired in the arms of victory.

13. The same love of glory, and fearlessness of death, which in so remarkable a manner distinguished the British hero, were not less conspicuous in the conduct of the Marquis de Montcalm, his competitor for victory and for fame. He expressed the highest satisfaction in hearing that his wound was mortal; and when told that he could survive only a few hours, quickly replied, "so much the better, I shall not then live to see the surrender of Quebec."*

14. Brigadier general Monckton, the second English officer was dangerously wounded; and the chief command devolved upon general Townsend, who completed the defeat of the French. This important victory was gained at the expense of between five and six hundred men. Quebec surrendered by capitulation to the English, after a severe campaign of three months. The following year the whole province of Canada was reduced by the prudence and activity of general Amherst, and has since remained annexed to the British empire.

* Washington's Life.

15. The same success attended the British arms in the West-Indies. In the two following years the islands Martinico, St. Vincent, and Havannah were subdued, and in 1763 a definitive treaty of peace was settled between Great-Britain, France, and Spain. By this treaty the English ceded to the French several islands, which had been taken from them in the West-Indies. Yet the whole continent of North America was left in possession of the British.

16. During the war the colonies furnished 23,800 men to co-operate with the British regular forces in North America. Many of the privates who gained such laurels, by their singular bravery, on the plains of Abraham, when Wolfe died in the arms of victory, were natives of Massachusetts. When Martinico was attacked in 1761, and the British force was greatly weakened by sickness and death, the timely arrival of the New-England troops, enabled the former to prosecute the reduction of that island with success. They also arrived at the Havannah at a critical period, and by their junction with the British, facilitated the conquest of that place. Their fidelity, activity, and courage were such, as to gain the approbation and confidence of the British officers.*

17. At this period the arms of Great-Britain had recently been successful in every part of the globe. Power however like all things human has its limits; and there is an elevated point of grandeur which seems to indicate a descent. The kingdoms of Europe looked with a jealous eye upon Britain, after the acquisition

* Gordon's History of the American War.

of such immense power and territory. A tide of prosperity has a similar effect upon nations, as upon individuals. Hence the haughtiness of Britain was heightened by her late conquests, whilst the high ideas of liberty and independence, which were nurtured in the colonies by their local situation, and the state of society in the new world, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbours. Both countries thus prepared, the seeds of discord were soon sown between the parent state and the colonies, which speedily sprang up to the rending of the empire, and the reducing of the power and grandeur of the British nation.

CHAPTER XVI.

1764—1774.

Of the Seminary of Learning at Providence in Rhode-Island. Of Dartmouth College. Of the Controversy between Great-Britain and the Colonies. Spirited Opposition to the Stamp Act. It is repealed. New Plan of raising a Revenue in America. Arrival of the British troops. Massacre of the fifth of March. The Tea thrown into the Sea, at Boston. Arbitrary Proceedings of the British Parliament. Spirited Behaviour of the People of Massachusetts. The continental Congress meet at Philadelphia. Of their proceedings. The New-England Colonies prepare for War.

1. AFTER the establishment of peace the American colonies increased in knowledge, as

1764 well as in opulence and population. This year a college was established in Rhode-Island, and incorporated by a charter from the legislative assembly of that colony. This institution was first founded at Warren, and there in 1769, the first commencement was holden. The college was removed to its present situation in 1770, where a large and elegant building in an elevated situation, had been erected for its accommodation, by the generous donations of individuals, chiefly of the town of Providence. The college charter ordains that the President must be a Baptist, but professors and other officers of instruction, are not limited to any denomination of Christians.*

2. The inhabitants of New-Hampshire, like those of the other New-England settlements, were distinguished for their attention to the promotion of literature. In 1769 a seminary of learning was established at Hanover, in that province, and received a royal charter. Dr. Eleazer Wheelock of Lebanon, in Connecticut, was its principal founder and first president. His original design was to promote science among the Indian youth. The friends of religion and humanity assisted his benevolent exertions by their numerous presents. It was named Dartmouth college in honour of the earl of Dartmouth, one of its most liberal benefactors. In 1771, a commencement was first held in this place.

3. Previously to the establishment of the abovementioned seminary of learning, Great-Britain, elated by her recent prosperity had already formed and proposed a plan, which tended

* See Holme's American Annals. vol. II. p. 291.

to subvert the privileges of the colonies; and they, animated with an ardent love of liberty, had already exhibited a determined spirit of resistance.

4. Mr. Bernard, a man of arbitrary principles, was appointed to succeed Mr. Pownall * in the government of Massachusetts: and the termination of the French war, which involved the British nation in a debt to a very great amount, was selected as a proper time to introduce the project of taxing the colonies by act of parliament. The Massachusetts agent having given intelligence of this intention, the house of representatives asserted in the most explicit terms that the sole right of granting the money of the people of the province was vested in them; and that the power claimed by the parent country of imposing duties upon a people, who are not represented in the house of commons, was irreconcilable with their privileges.†

5. Great-Britain, on the other hand, contended that her parliament was invested with authority to levy taxes on any part of the royal dominions, and at length, Mr. Grenville brought into 1765
the house of commons his celebrated act for imposing stamp duties in America. After an animated debate the bill passed both houses, and received the royal assent.

6. This act roused all the energy of the colonies, and they made the most spirited exertions to resist the encroachments of the British minis-

* This gentleman succeeded Mr. Shirley and was appointed governour in 1767, he was a friend to liberty and opposed to the design which was early formed of taxing the colonies.

† Gordon, vol. i. p. 148.

5 try. They entered into an association against importing British manufactures, till the stamp act should be repealed. A continental congress, composed of deputies from nine of the provinces met at New-York, and asserted in energetic terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. The day on which the operation of the act was to commence, was ushered in, both in Boston and Portsmouth, by a funeral tolling of the bells. The people resolved to risk all consequences rather than use the paper required by law, and used such a variety of legal and illegal methods to emancipate themselves from this encroachment upon their liberty, that nothing but a repeal of the stamp act could prevent the immediate commencement of a civil war.*

766 -7. After much debating, and two protests in the house of lords, and passing an act called the declaratory act, for securing the dependence of America on the parent country, the stamp act was repealed, on the 18th of March, 1766. This event occasioned great satisfaction in London; and the intelligence was received in America with the most lively emotions of joy.

8. As the stamp act was not repealed upon American principles, in June, 1767, a bill had been decided on in the cabinet for imposing duties on glass, paper, painter's colours, and tea, imported into the colonies from Great-Britain. In order to manage the revenue collected by these duties, a board of commissioners was
768 placed in Boston. This measure excited such

* Ramsay, vol. i. p. 71.

a violent ferment among the inhabitants of that town, that two regiments of British troops, and some armed vessels were ordered thither to support and assist the commissioners.

9. The province of Massachusetts continued with unshaken firmness to defend its privileges, and its example was followed by the other colonies. Among other methods which were used to procure a repeal of these duties, they entered into a non-importation agreement. This measure distressed the manufacturers in Great-Britain, and at length the ministry were induced 17
to repeal all the duties, except that of three pence per pound on tea.*

10. The stationing of a military force in Massachusetts produced an event, which threatened effects the most extensively serious. On the second of March an affray took place between a private soldier and an inhabitant of Boston; and at length several on both sides were involved in the quarrel. On the fifth of March a more dreadful scene ensued. The king's troops fired upon the men who were collected to insult them; killed four, and wounded several others.†

11. This event excited such violent commotions in the town of Boston, that nothing but an immediate engagement to remove the troops, together with the advice of moderate men, prevented the inhabitants from attacking the soldiers. The killed were buried in one vault, in the most respectful manner. Captain Preston, who commanded this party of soldiers, was committed to prison, and afterwards tried; yet

* Ramsay. † Marshall's Life of Washington.

as it appeared that the British soldiers were threatened, abused, and insulted before they fired, the captain and five of his men were acquitted; two only being found guilty of manslaughter. The result of this verdict reflected great honour on John Adams and Josiah Quincy, esq'rs. the prisoners' counsel; gentlemen who had invariably shown the warmest zeal, and exerted the most splendid talents, in the cause of freedom; and also on the integrity of the jury, who ventured to give an upright verdict in defiance of popular opinions.*

771 12. The inhabitants of Massachusetts were also highly irritated by the provision, which was made in Britain for paying the salaries of the governour and judges by the crown, and thus rendering them independent of the people.

13. At the period when the duties on the other articles were repealed, the only reason assigned by the British minister for retaining that on tea, was to support the parliament's right of taxation. The Americans therefore in denying their right, discontinued the importation of that commodity. To compel them to submission, this article was sent into all the colonies, attended with the duty. In order to prevent the liberties of a great country from being sacrificed by inconsiderate purchasers, whole cargoes of tea were returned from New-York and Philadelphia, and that which was sent to Charleston was landed and stored, but not offered for sale.†

773 14. As from a combination of circumstances, the return of the tea from Boston was

* Ramsay, vol. i. p. 91. † Ibid. p. 99.

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rendered impossible, the province of Massachusetts ventured upon a more desperate remedy. Seventeen persons, dressed as Indians, broke open 242 chests of the tea, and without doing any other damage, discharged their contents into the ocean.

15. Upon receiving intelligence of these 177
proceedings the British parliament were transported with indignation against the people of Boston, and in order to revenge the opposition which they had exhibited against their authority, passed an act, called the Boston port-bill, by which the port of that town was legally precluded from the privilege of landing and discharging, or of lading and shipping goods, wares, and merchandize. Other oppressive bills were soon after passed, in order to punish the inhabitants of Boston, and deprive the colonists of their privileges, which measures served however to cement their union, and strengthen their resolutions to resist the arbitrary impositions of the parent state.

16. Whilst the combination of the other colonies to support Boston was gaining strength, new matters of dissention daily arose in Massachusetts. The resolution of shutting the port of Boston was no sooner taken, than it was determined to order a military force to that town. General Gage, the commander in chief of the royal forces in North-America, was also sent with the additional capacity of governour of Massachusetts. Soon after his arrival, two regiments were landed in Boston. These troops were by degrees reinforced with others from Ireland, New-York, Halifax, and Quebec.

1774 17. Four of the new counsellors who had been appointed by Mandamus, in pursuance of an act for altering the government of Massachusetts Bay, declined. Of those who accepted several were obliged to resign. The judges of the superior court who had accepted of salaries from the British government, by virtue of the act above alluded to, were interrupted in the discharge of their official duty. The counsellors, who had accepted their appointments, the commissioners of customs, and all who had taken an active part in favour of Great-Britain were obliged to screen themselves in Boston.

18. At this period the provincial congress of Massachusetts, which was composed of delegates from all parts of the province, exercised all the semblance of government, which existed in the province. Under the simple style of recommendations, they organized the militia, made ordinances respecting public monies, and such farther regulations as were necessary for preserving order, and defending themselves against the British troops.

19. Soon after the intelligence of the Boston port-bill reached America, the deputies of the colonies convened at Philadelphia, and passed several spirited resolutions, approving the opposition of the inhabitants of Massachusetts to the arbitrary proceedings of the British ministry, and declaring their determination to support them. They drew up a declaration of their rights, which they asserted were infringed by the British parliament in claiming a power of taxing the colonies without their consent. They also entered into an association, by which they

bound themselves and their constituents to dis- 177
continue the importation of British goods till these obnoxious acts should be repealed. Congress next framed a bold and spirited remonstrance to the king, soliciting a redress of grievances; an address to the English nation; one to the colonies, and one to the French inhabitants of Canada. These papers were executed with uncommon energy and address.

20. After the congressional proceedings reached Great-Britain, several other oppressive acts were passed against the colonies; and as matters had proceeded so far as to preclude all hopes of reconciliation, the New-England colonies were assiduous in preparing for war.

21. In order to account for that ardent love of liberty which stimulated the New-England colonies to resist the arbitrary encroachments of the parent state, let it be remembered, that this country was first settled by those, who had groaned under the yoke of oppression and religious persecution in their native country. The tyranny of the British government, which compelled them to seek an asylum in the new world, impressed their minds with high ideas of their civil, and religious liberties, and the care they took to preserve them inviolate, was evinced by their early policy and establishments.

22. As their charters gave them the power of choosing their own officers, these ideas were confirmed and heightened by the habits of acting as freemen. Whenever they conceived their liberties in danger, we find traits of the same spirit which severed them from Britain. This habit of resisting every encroachment in

its infancy, invigorated their minds, and prepared them for greater exertions, when the tyranny of Britain attempted to subjugate them by farther innovations.

23. The sagacity of the Americans is also greatly to be admired. It has been justly observed, that the annals of other nations have produced instances of successful struggles against a yoke previously imposed; but the records of history do not furnish an example of a people, whose penetration had anticipated the operations of tyranny; and whose spirit had disdained to suffer an infringement upon their liberties."*

24. The long period which elapsed between the stamp act, and the commencement of hostilities, called forth the most distinguished abilities, and developed characters, which will be remembered with immortal honour in the annals of America.† The writings of these eminent men diffused knowledge among the great body of the people, and they became well acquainted with the grounds of the dispute between Britain and the colonies. The flame of liberty which was first kindled in New-England enlightened the continent; and to the early exertions of this part of the country the other colonies in a great measure owe their liberty and independence. The force of public opinion, the energy of American counsels, and their success in arms,

* See John Q. Adams' Oration, July 4, 1793, page 10.

† James Otis, esq. of Boston, held a distinguished rank among the early defenders of American freedom. He was eminent for his abilities, learning, independence of character, and energy of mind. In 1765, he published an essay, entitled, "Rights of the British Colonies, asserted and proved." See Mrs. Warren's History of the American War, vol. i.

caused one of the most extraordinary revolutions in history, replete with the most important consequences to mankind.

CHAPTER XVII.

1774—1775.

The Commencement of Hostilities at Lexington, Boston invested by a provincial Army. Public Fast. Ticonderoga and Crown Point taken. Reinforcements arrive from Great Britain. Bunker-Hill Battle. The continental Congress organize a regular Army, and appoint General Washington commander in chief. Falmouth burnt by the British. The Canada Expedition. The Colonies of Virginia, North and South Carolina expel their Governours.

1. THE important era at length arrived, in which the Americans had no alternative, but to submit to the impositions of arbitrary power, or refer their cause to the decision of arms.

2. General Gage, being informed that the provincials had deposited military stores at Worcester and Concord, sent a number of British troops to destroy them. This detachment met a company of militia, which was assembled at Lexington, to oppose their design. Major Pitcairn, the British officer who led the advanced corps, commanded them to disperse, and upon their still continuing in a body, discharged his

1775 pistol, and ordered his soldiers to fire. A skirmish ensued, and several of the militia were killed. The regulars proceeded to Concord and destroyed the stores. On their return they were attacked and terribly harrassed by a large body of the provincials, who fired from behind fences and walls.*

3. At Lexington the British were joined by a detachment of 900 men, under lord Percy, who had been sent out by general Gage, to support lieutenant colonel Smith. This reinforcement, having two pieces of cannon, awed the provincials, and kept them at a greater distance; but they continued a constant though irregular and scattering fire, which did great execution. At length, the royal detachment reached Bunker's Hill, worn down with excessive fatigue, having travelled that day between thirty and forty miles. The next day they reached Boston. The British had 65 killed, 180 wounded, and 48 made prisoners. The Americans had 50 killed, and 38 wounded and missing.

1775 4. To prevent the people in Boston from joining their countrymen, general Gage agreed to permit the inhabitants to remove with their families and effects, if they would deliver their arms. A large number complied with this condition, and the agreement was at first punctually observed. But in a short time he treacherously detained many, suspecting that if the enemies of the British government were all safely removed, the town would be set on fire.

* Ramsay, vol. i. p. 187.

5. The provincial congress of Massachusetts, which was in session at the time of Lexington battle, voted that an army of 30,000 men should immediately be raised, and that 13,600 should be of their own province; and that a letter and delegates should be sent to the other New-England colonies. In consequence of this Boston was invested by an army of 20,000 men, and the command of this force was given to general Ward. They were soon after joined by a large body of Connecticut troops, under the command of general Putnam, a brave and experienced officer. The continental congress also recommended a general fast to be observed on the 20th of July through all the colonies.* 1775.

6. As the necessity of securing Ticonderoga was early attended to by many in New-England, Colonel Arnold was sent from Connecticut to engage the people on the New-Hampshire grants in this expedition; and being joined by colonel Ethen Allen of Bennington, who raised a body of troops for this purpose, they surprised the garrison of Ticonderoga, and took it, with its military stores, without the loss of a single man. Crown Point was taken the same day by colonel Seth Warner. By this expedition the Americans obtained the command of Lake Champlain, which secured them a passage into Canada.†

7. On the 25th of May, three distinguished British generals, Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, with a great part of the troops which were ordered from Great-Britain, arrived in Boston. After general Gage was thus reinforced, he issued a proclamation, declaring the province of

* Ramsay. † Gordon, vol. ii. page 10.

1775 Massachusetts to be in a state of rebellion; and offering pardon to all, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock, provided they would immediately lay down their arms, and return to their respective occupations.

8. The Americans supposing this proclamation to be a prelude for hostilities, prepared for action. On the 16th of June a detachment of 1000 American troops took possession of Breed's Hill, and laboured during the night with such diligence, that by the dawn of day they had thrown up a redoubt, about eight rods square. The British, at day-light began a heavy firing from their ships, and from their fortification at Copp's Hill, and an incessant shower of shot and bombs was poured upon the American works; yet but one man was killed.

9. About noon, 3,000 British troops, the flower of the army, were sent to dislodge them from this post. They advanced deliberately, that their artillery might demolish the new raised works. The Americans reserved their fire till the near approach of their enemies, and then began such a furious and incessant discharge of small arms, that the royal troops retreated with precipitation. The officers rallied and pushed them forward with their swords, but they were a second time obliged to retreat.

10. The officers, animated with a high sense of British honour, being determined to carry their point in spite of all opposition, redoubled their exertions, and general Clinton arrived and joined them at this critical moment. Their united and strenuous efforts succeeded in renewing the attack; and, as the powder of the

Americans began to fail, the British at length 1775
compelled them to abandon their post.

11. During the bloody conflict, general Gage ordered Charlestown to be set on fire, and nearly four hundred houses, including five public buildings, were destroyed. But though this town was a place of great trade, this loss did not discourage the Americans, who were indifferent to property, when put in competition with liberty.

12. Fifteen hundred Americans were engaged in this action, 77 were killed, and 278 wounded and missing. The death of the brave and accomplished general Warren, who fought as a volunteer, was particularly lamented. The royal army lost 1054; nineteen commissioned officers were killed, and 70 more were wounded. The battle of Quebec in 1759, which gave Great-Britain the possession of Canada, was not so destructive to her officers as this attack of a slight intrenchment, the work of a few hours only.*

13. The Americans feared that the British troops would push the advantage they had gained, and march immediately to the head quarters at Cambridge, which were in no state of defence. But they advanced no farther than Bunker's hill, where they threw up works for their own security. The provincials did the same on Prospect hill, in front of them, about half way to Cambridge.

14. The spirit displayed by the troops during this battle encouraged the second continen-

* Gordon, vol. ii. p. 67.

1775 tal congress, convened at Philadelphia, after a military opposition to Great-Britain was resolved upon, to proceed with alacrity in their preparation to carry on the war. George Washington, esq. a native of Virginia, was by a unanimous vote appointed commander in chief. He united every quality necessary to render him eminent in this exalted station. On the second of July he arrived at Cambridge, where he was joyfully received, and took command of the country militia who invested the town of Boston.*

15. The Massachusetts assembly and continental congress both resolved to fit out armed vessels to cruise upon the American coast, and to intercept warlike stores and supplies. But previously to their making any captures, Falmouth, now Portland, was burnt by captain Mowat, by the orders of the British admiral at Boston. The first naval attempt of the Americans was crowned with success. Captain Manly, in a continental cruiser, captured a British vessel loaded with military stores.

16. The chief command of the American campaigns in the northern department was given to major-general Montgomery, who soon took St. Johns, and Montreal. In September a detachment from Cambridge, under the command of colonel Arnold, was ordered to penetrate into Canada, by the way of the Kennebec. After enduring incredible fatigue, and suffering with sickness and famine, part of this detachment joined general Montgomery, and commenced the siege of Quebec. The general at length determined to storm the town, and hav-

* Ramsay.

ing passed the first barrier, he advanced boldly 177.
to attack a second which was much stronger; when a well directed fire from the enemy put an end to the life of this enterprizing officer. Most of his other officers shared the same fate, and colonel Campbell, on whom the command devolved, thought proper to order a retreat.

17. In the mean time colonel Arnold, at the head of 350 men, passed to attack St. Rogues, and received a wound which disabled him. After sustaining the whole force of the garrison for three hours, his party were obliged to yield to superior force. Large numbers of the Americans were made prisoners. Sir Guy Carlton, the British commander, endeavoured to alleviate the distressed situation of the sick and wounded among them by the most humane and generous conduct.*

18. After the failure of this expedition a series of misfortunes for some time attended the American operations in the north; and the British gained possession of most of the places that had been taken from them.†

19. Whilst the flame of contention raged in the north, the royal governours in Virginia, North and South Carolina were expelled, and obliged to take refuge on board men of war. At the close of this year Great-Britain beheld all the colonies united against her in the most determined opposition.

20. Dr. Ramsay observes, that "as arms were to decide the controversy, it was fortunate for the Americans that the first blood was drawn

* Ramsay, vol. i. p. 242.
† Historical Journal of the American War.

1775. in New-England. The inhabitants of that country are so connected with each other by descent, manners, religion, politics, and a general equality, that the killing of an individual interested the whole, and made them consider it as a common cause."

21. The undaunted courage which the New-England militia exhibited at Lexington, Concord, and Breed's hill, affords a convincing proof how much may be done by men inspired with an enthusiasm for liberty, without the aid of military discipline. The dispute between Britain and her colonies had long been a popular subject. The prevailing ideas at that time were a detestation of arbitrary power, and a determined resolution to resist, even with the sword. The people in general, were well informed respecting the causes of the contest, and they had been highly irritated by repeated encroachments upon their privileges. Whilst their minds were wrought to this high pitch, those who had never seen a battle, previously to this period, dared to encounter the well disciplined forces of the British nation.

CHAPTER XVIII.

1775—1777.

Boston evacuated. The British are repulsed at Charlestown. American Independence declared. Battle at Long-Island. The Americans retreat to New-York. Capt. Hale sent as a Spy to Long-Island, and executed by the British. Rhode-Island taken. The desperate Situation of American Affairs. Battles of Trenton and Princeton. Battle of Brandywine. Philadelphia taken. Battle of Germantown. General Burgoyne appointed Commander in the northern Department. Ticonderoga abandoned. Battle at Bennington. General Burgoyne's Army are surrounded on all sides, and surrender.

1. DURING this period, the British troops were blockaded in Boston, and reduced to great distress for want of provisions and fuel. General Washington proposed a question to the council of war on the 16th of February, whether Cambridge and Roxbury bays being frozen over, a general assault should not be made on Boston. A negative being given to this question, the army determined to possess themselves of Dorchester heights, and in order to conceal their design, and divert the attention of the garrison, a very heavy service of cannon and mortars began to play upon the town from other directions, and was continued for three days.

2. On the night of the fourth of March, 17 1200 men were employed in erecting works on Dorchester heights, and in the morning had

1776 completed lines of defence which astonished the garrison at Boston. The admiral informed general Howe, that if the Americans kept possession of these heights, he should not be able to keep one of his majesty's ships in the harbour. It was therefore determined in a council of war to dislodge them. But the expected engagement being prevented by a violent storm, the royal army, accompanied by the tories,* on the 17th of March, evacuated the town. General Washington and his army, immediately after marched into Boston, and he was received with the gratitude and respect due to a deliverer.

3. In the following summer, general Clinton and Sir Peter Parker were repulsed with great loss at Charleston in South-Carolina, and the southern states, for two years and a half, obtained a respite from the calamities of war.

4. On the 4th of July of this memorable year, congress published their declaration of Independence, which was perfectly agreeable to the republican habits and manners of New-England. This measure was warmly supported by John Adams, late president of the United States, who, on that occasion, strongly urged the immediate dissolution of all political connexion of the colonies with Great-Britain; from the voice of the people, from the necessity of the measure, in order to obtain assistance, from a regard to consistency, and from a prospect of glory and happiness which opened beyond the war to a free and independent people.†

5. The most vigorous exertions were necessary to maintain the independence thus boldly

* Adherents to the British. † Ramsay, vol. i. p. 340.

proclaimed. General Washington was station- 1776
ed at New-York, and engaged in fortifying that city and the adjacent islands. General Howe landed his troops at Staten-Island, where after being joined by lord Howe, with a great armament, they sent proposals for an accommodation with the colonies, which they unanimously rejected.†

6. The decision of the controversy being now by both parties left to the sword, an action took place at Long-Island, in which the Americans were surrounded on all sides, and totally defeated. Their number of killed, wounded, and prisoners, considerably exceeded 1000 men. After this battle, the American army left the island, and were conveyed to New-York, over East river. A thick fog, which hovered over Long-Island, concealed them from the British, and enabled them to complete their retreat without interruption.

7. "This retreat left the British in complete possession of Long-Island. General Washington was extremely desirous of obtaining information of their situation, their strength, and future movements. For this purpose he applied to col. Knowlton, and desired him to adopt some mode of gaining the necessary information. Col. Knowlton communicated this request to capt. Nathan Hale, of Connecticut, who belonged to his regiment.

8. "This young officer, animated by a sense of duty, and considering that an opportunity presented itself by which he might be useful to his country, at once offered himself as a volunteer for this hazardous service. He passed in,

† Marshall's Life of Washington, vol iii. p. 58.

1776 disguise to Long-Island, examined every part of the British army, and obtained every possible information respecting their situation and future operations."

9. "In his attempt to return he was apprehended, carried before Sir William Howe, and the proof of his object was so clear, that he frankly acknowledged who he was, and what were his views. The following morning he was executed, in a most unfeeling manner. A clergyman, whose attendance he desired, was refused him, and a bible for a few moments devotion was not procured although he earnestly requested it. The letters which he wrote to his friends on the morning of his execution were destroyed, and this extraordinary reason given by the provost marshal, "that the rebels should not know, that they had a man in their army, who could die with so much firmness."

10. Unknown to all around him, without a single friend to offer him the least consolation, thus fell as amiable, and as worthy a young man, as America could boast, with this dying observation, "that he only lamented that he had but one life to lose for his country."*

11. Neither the expectation of promotion, nor of pecuniary reward, induced him to the attempt. A sense of duty, a hope that, in this way he might be useful to his country, and an opinion which he had adopted, that every kind of service necessary to the public good became honourable by being necessary, were the great

* Captain Hale was born in Coventry in Connecticut, and educated in Yale College, where he graduated in 1773. See Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 369.

motives which induced him to engage in an en- 1776
terprize by which his connexions lost a most amiable friend, and his country one of its most promising supporters."*

12. At the close of the year 1776, the affairs of the United States wore a gloomy aspect. The city of New-York was abandoned by the Americans and taken by the British. They had gained possession of York Island, by taking fort Washington, and fort Lee; they were also successful at the Jerseys. The Americans were expelled from Canada; their army was continually diminishing, and was to be dismissed at the end of the year. Notwithstanding all these disasterous events, Congress resolved to abide by their declared independence; they made the most strenuous efforts to rouse the colonies to vigorous exertions; and proffered freedom of trade to any foreign nation, trusting the event to Providence, and risking all consequences.†

13. During the royal successes in the Jerseys, general Clinton, with four brigades of British and Hessian troops, and a squadron of men of war, under Sir Peter Parker, was sent to attempt the conquest of Rhode-Island. It was taken without the loss of a man, the American forces being incapable of making effectual resistance.

14. In this alarming crisis of affairs, general Washington re-crossed the Delaware, with about 2,200 men, attacked a body of Hessians, who were posted in Trenton, and took 900 prisoners,

* The compiler of the History of New-England is indebted to Gen. Hull, of Newton, for this interesting account of Captain Hale.

† Ramsay. Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. ii. p. 557.

who, supposing it impossible for the Americans, under their disadvantages, to commence offensive operations, were in a state of perfect security.

1777 15. In the beginning of the following year he gained another important victory at Princeton. These events filled the British with consternation, and deranged all their plans. The Americans, animated and encouraged, soon recovered part of the Jerseys; and the affairs of the United States began to assume a more favourable aspect.

16. On the 24th of April a detachment of royalists under the command of governour Tryon of New York landed between Fairfield and Norwalk. They advanced through the country without interruption, and when they arrived at Danbury with wanton barbarity, burnt the place, and destroyed a large number of valuable articles. A warm skirmish ensued, in which the brave general Wooster, a native of New Haven was mortally wounded, and his troops compelled to give way.*

17. After the possession of Philadelphia was discovered to be the great object of the British movements, general Washington in order to protect that city hazarded an action which took place at Brandywine creek. The Americans were overpowered, and suffered great loss. After various movements of the regular army, on the 26th of September, gen. Howe made his triumphal entry into Philadelphia, where he was most cordially received by the royalists.†

* Ramsay vol. ii. p. 4.

† See Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. iii. p. 144.

18. On the 4th of October the two armies 1777
were again engaged at Germantown; and though in the commencement of the action the Americans had the advantage, the British were finally victorious. Their succeeding operations, in order to open the navigation of the Delaware, were also crowned with success.

19. In the mean time the command in the northern department was given to gen. Burgoyne, an officer of distinguished reputation. As the four provinces of New-England had originally begun the confederation against Britain, and were the most active and zealous in the contest, it was thought that an impression made upon them would contribute in an effectual manner to the reduction of all the rest. For this purpose the general, with more than seven thousand well-disciplined troops, aided by several tribes of Indians, was determined to make an impression on them. The campaign opened with the siege of Ticonderoga.

20. The royal army within a few days after their arrival, had surrounded three fourths of the American works at Ticonderoga, and Mount-Independence; and had also advanced a work on Sugar Hill, which, when completed would have invested the continental army on all sides. In this situation, gen. St. Clair resolved to evacuate the post; though he was sensible this measure would expose his conduct to the severest censures.*

21. The loss of Ticonderoga and Mount-Independence spread astonishment and terror through the New-England states. Yet instead

* Ramsay, vol. ii. p. 29.

1777 of sinking under the apprehensions of danger, they exerted themselves with energy in recruiting their army, and, in order to check the progress of their British invaders, such numbers of volunteers were daily added that the people began to recover from their first alarm.*

22. As the principal force of the American army lay in front between gen. Burgoyne and Albany, he hoped by advancing towards them, to reduce them to the necessity of fighting or of retreating to New-England. In the march of the British towards Albany, several actions took place between them and the Americans, and the regulars as well as the Indians, in their interest suffered very considerably, in these different skirmishes. The principal action happened at Bennington, when gen. Stark, of New-Hampshire, commanded the American militia. About 800 men, without bayonets, or a single piece of artillery, attacked and routed 500 regular troops, advantageously posted behind entrenchments, furnished with the best arms, and defended with two pieces of artillery.

23. Colonel Breyman with a reinforcement arrived on the field after the action, and was defeated by the Americans on the same day, Colonel Baum, the British commander, and about 600 men, including part of Breyman's reinforcement, were made prisoners, and the artillery and other arms taken by the Americans.

24. This victory restored spirit to the American army, and occasioned dejection and dismay to the British. The militia collected from all parts of New-England to retard their progress;

* Ramsay, vol. ii. p. 30.

but at length Gen. Burgoyne, after passing 1776
Hudson's river with his army, encamped on the heights and on the plains of Saratoga. An extremely severe action took place at Stillwater. Both armies suffered considarable loss; but the advantage was decidedly with the Americans.*

25. From this time till near the middle of October, skirmishes ensued between the two armies, and the British were greatly reduced and weakened. In the mean time militia and volunteers were continually arriving from New-England, and at length Gen. Burgoyne was invested with an army nearly three times as great as his own forces. When, on the 15th, he found that his troops had only a scanty subsistence for three days, and no prospect of a speedy relief, he called a council of war, and by the unanimous advice of this council, he was induced to open a treaty with general Gates, the American commander, by which it was finally stipulated among other articles, that the troops should 1777
march out of their camp with the honours of war. The number of these that surrendered amounted to 5752† men; a large number of military stores were also taken by the Americans.

26. The surrender of Saratoga forms a memorable era in the American war. This event occasioned great grief and dejection in Britain, while it animated and encouraged the Americans; and the celebrity of capturing a large army of British and German troops, soon procured them powerful friends in Europe.

27. During the three preceding years, the Americans had resisted the arbitrary measures

* Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. iii. p. 277.
† Holmes' American Annals.

1777 of Britain with the sword, without the assistance of any foreign power. In the first year, they had exhibited undaunted courage in the battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill; blockaded the regular army in Boston; expelled the royal governours, and repelled the attempts of the British against the southern colonies. In the year 1776, animated with heroic fortitude, they renounced their allegiance to Great-Britain, and declared independence. In the most gloomy situation of affairs, during this eventful period, we find the Americans, inspired with an unconquerable spirit of liberty, persist in defending their recently assumed independence with the sword.

28. In 1777 their affairs began to wear a brighter aspect. The victory of Bennington paved the way for the capture of Burgoyne's army; and the capture of his army was the event which procured them foreign assistance in the subsequent year. It appears from this imperfect review, that, under heaven, the blessings of liberty and independence were chiefly purchased by the wise counsels, the undaunted resolution, and the energetic exertions of the Americans. However, their success ought ever ultimately to be ascribed to the good providence of the LORD. From the first settlement no nation had ever experienced more extraordinary interpositions of Providence than America; and at no period were those interpositions more singularly visible, than during the controversy with Britain.

CHAPTER XIX.

1778—1781.

Treaty between France and America. British Commissioners are sent to negociate a Peace. Their Terms are rejected. The Royal Army burn Part of Warren and Bristol. Philadelphia evacuated. The Battle of Freehold or Monmouth. The Americans make an unsuccessful Attempt to regain Rhode-Island. The British gain Possession of Savannah. Governour Tryon's destructive Expedition into Connecticut. Brave Action of General Putnam. General Wayne storms Stoney-Point. The Americans' unsuccessful Attempt against a Post in Penobscot. Charleston besieged and surrendered to the British. Battle of Camden. The Academy of Arts and Sciences instituted in Massachusetts. General Arnold agrees to deliver West-Point to the British. Unhappy Fate of Major Andre. Virginia invaded by Arnold. Of the War in South-Carolina. Battle at Eutaw Springs.

1. SOON after the intelligence of the capture of Burgoyne reached Europe, the king of France concluded treaties of alliance and commerce with the United States. This important transaction was the fruit of long negociation. As early as 1776 Congress sent an agent to that kingdom with instructions to solicit its friendship and to procure military stores. But the French nation refused to act openly and decidedly in their favour, till the capture of 177

1778 Burgoyne's army convinced them that there was the utmost probability that the united efforts of the Americans would finally be successful. As the French court was persuaded that it was for their interest that the power of England should be diminished by the separation of the colonies from its government, it was finally determined to espouse their cause.*

2. When the British ministry were informed of this treaty they dispatched commissioners to attempt a reconciliation; but found all their endeavours ineffectual. In no one place not immediately commanded by the British army, was there any attempt to accept these proposals, or even any deliberation on the propriety of closing with the offers of Britain.

3. Notwithstanding these pacific negociations the royal army continued their devastation with fire and sword. In the latter part of May, five hundred British and Hessians made an excursion from Rhode-Island, destroyed a number of stores and burnt the meeting-house in Warren, the church in Bristol, and a considerable number of buildings in each town.

4. In the summer of this year, general Clinton, who succeeded general Howe, evacuated Philadelphia. In their march to New-York they were attacked by the Americans, and an action took place at Monmouth, or Freehold, in which general Lee was charged by General Washington with disobedience and misconduct in retreating before the British troops, and was

* Ramsay, vol. ii. page 64. Marshall's Life of Washington, vol. iii. page 411—417.

suspended from his command in the American army for one year.* 1778

5. The British had but just completed the removal of their fleet and army from the Delaware and Philadelphia, to the harbour and city of New-York, when they received intelligence that a fleet, which was commanded by Count D'Estaing, was on the coast of America. Their first object was the surprize of Lord Howe's fleet in the Delaware, but they arrived too late.

6. The next attempt of Count D'Estaing was against Rhode-Island, of which the British had been in possession since December, 1776. A combined attack against it was projected, and it was agreed that General Sullivan should command the land forces. After he had collected about 10,000 men, of whom, at least one half were volunteers from New-England, he with his army passed over to the Island, on the 8th of August, at the same time the French fleet entered the harbour of Newport.

7. Lord Howe received intelligence of the danger which threatened Rhode-Island, and hastened to its relief. The French admiral put out to sea with his whole fleet to attack him. The engagement was prevented by a violent tempest, in which both fleets were greatly damaged. The French fleet, which suffered more in the storm than their adversaries, returned to Newport, in a very shattered condition, on the 10th of August, and two days after, Count D'Estaing sailed for Boston in order to refit his ships.

8. In the mean time General Sullivan had commenced his military operations, but Gene-

* See Washington's Letters, vol. iv. page 275.

1778 ral Pigot, who commanded the British garrison on Rhode-Island, had taken such measures, that without the assistance of a marine force it was impossible to attack him with any probability of success. General Sullivan however retreated to the north end of the island, and a spirited action took place, in which the Americans repulsed the pursuers; but Lord Howe's fleet being seen off the coast, general Sullivan concluded immediately to evacuate Rhode-Island. He retreated in excellent order, without leaving a man behind.*

9. This campaign having produced nothing advantageous to the British, and the winter being a proper season for southern expeditions, they concluded to turn their arms against Georgia. This enterprize was committed to colonel Campbell, an officer of courage and ability; the forces appointed to act under him amounted to 2,500. After the troops had effected a landing near the mouth of the Savannah, they began an attack with so much spirit and intrepidity, that they gained a complete victory. Upward of 100 of the Americans were killed and a large number made prisoners. The military stores, shipping in the river, a large quantity of provisions, with the capital of Georgia, fell into the hands of the conquerors.†

1779 10. At the opening of this year, the British began their operations with expeditions tending rather to distress the Americans, than to benefit their own cause. For this purpose governour Tryon and Sir George Collier made an excursion into Connecticut, and after plundering the

* Ramsay. † Ibid.

town of New-Haven, and perpetrating various 1779
species of enormity, the invaders suddenly re-embarked and proceeded by water to Fairfield and set the town on fire. The British, in this excursion, also burnt East-Haven, the greatest part of Green-Farms, and the flourishing town of Norwalk.

11. The campaign of this year was distinguished by the capture of Stoney-Point, on the North River. General Wayne was the commanding officer in the enterprize, and the troops were chiefly natives of New-England. All the Massachusetts light infantry marched from West-Point under lieutenant colonel Hull on the morning of the 18th of July, and joined general Wayne on Sandy-Point, fourteen miles from Stoney-Point; notwithstanding they were obliged to pass over high mountains, through difficult defiles and morasses, they arrived by eight in the evening, soon commenced an attack; and in the face of an incessant fire of muskets and of cannon loaded with grape shot, forced their way at the point of the bayonet, through every obstacle, till the van of each column met in the centre of the works, and the garrison was obliged to surrender at discretion.*

12. After this successful enterprize, the State of Massachusetts formed a plan to dislodge the British from a fort which they had established on the river Penobscot. But, though they collected a considerable force to effect this purpose, the whole fleet was destroyed, and those who returned by land were obliged to wander through immense deserts whilst a scarcity of provisions augmented their calamity.

* Ramsay, vol. ii. p. 3.

1779. 13. Whilst the progress of the war in the northern States was marked with devastation and distress, the affairs of the Americans at the southward wore a more alarming aspect. General Lincoln and count De Estaing were repulsed at Savannah, and the greatest part of Georgia was subdued. The British army, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton, early in the following year, commenced their operations against Charleston in South-Carolina. Though general Lincoln exerted himself to the utmost in its defence, he was compelled after a close siege, to surrender the town by capitulation. The number who surrendered prisoners of war, amounted to about 5,000.

1780 14. It is remarkable that amidst the anxieties and avocations attending the war, the General Court of Massachusetts passed an act to incorporate and establish a respectable literary society, by the name of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.

15. This year general Arnold, a native of Connecticut, betrayed the cause which he had often hazarded his life to defend; and formed a scheme for delivering West-Point, of which he had the command, into the hands of the British. The agent, that Sir Henry Clinton employed in this negociation, was major Andre, in whom were united an elegant taste and cultivated mind, with the amiable qualities of candour, fidelity, and a delicate sense of honour. After an interview with general Arnold on his return to New-York, he was apprehended, and a court of general officers being appointed to examine his case, he was condemned and executed as a spy. His

behaviour, during his trial, was calm and dignified, exciting the esteem and compassion even of his enemies, who deeply regretted the cruel necessity of sacrificing his life to policy and the usages of war.* 1780

16. Whilst the British forces were plundering Virginia under Arnold, now brigadier general in the royal army, the war ravaged the two Carolinas. The success of the British in reducing Charleston, encouraged Lord Cornwallis to make vigorous exertions to invade North-Carolina. His progress was retarded by an attempt made by the Americans under general Morgan, to gain possession of the valuable district of ninety-six. In order to counteract this design, Lord Cornwallis detached lieut. col. Tarleton with about 1100 men, who attacked general Morgan at the Cow-pens, near Pacolet river. The Americans, after an obstinate contest, gained a complete victory. Upwards of three hundred of the British were killed or wounded, and about five hundred prisoners were taken. The Americans had only twelve men killed and sixty wounded.

17. During this desolating war several actions took place between the British and Americans. In the battle of Guilford court-house, and afterwards in that of Camden, the discipline of veteran troops gained the victory. The energetic exertions of general Greene to recover South-Carolina, were, however in various instances, crowned with success; and when in the most gloomy state of his affairs, he was advised to retire to Virginia, he nobly replied, "I

* Ramsay.

1281 will recover South-Carolina, or die in the attempt."

18. After some unimportant skirmishes between detached parties of both armies in July and August, on the 9th of September, general Greene, having assembled about 2,000 men, proceeded to attack the British, who, under the command of col. Stewart, were posted at Eutaw Springs. A most obstinate battle ensued in this place, and continued from nine o'clock in the morning till five in the afternoon. General Greene was finally victorious and the British fled in all directions, after losing upwards of 1100 men. The Americans lost about five hundred of which number were sixty officers. This brilliant and successful battle may be considered as closing the national war in South-Carolina.

19. In the train of illustrious men whose merits were developed by the American revolution, general Greene, a native of Rhode-Island, holds a distinguished rank. Dr. Ramsay remarks, that he opened a campaign with gloomy prospects, but closed it with glory. His unpaid and half naked army had to contend with every thing that the wealth of Britain or the plunder of Carolina could procure. Under all these disadvantages he compelled superior numbers to retire to the extremity of the State, and confine themselves in the capital and its vicinity. Had not his mind been of the firmest texture he would have been discouraged; but his enemies found him as formidable in the evening of a defeat as in the morning of a victory.*

* Ramsay, vol. ii. p. 254.

20. Though the American war exhibited all the ferocious passions of human nature, and opened scenes deeply wounding to the feeling heart, yet it developed all the energies of character, and we contemplate during the unequal contest, with admiration the love of country, rising in many instances superior to every selfish consideration; an enthusiasm for liberty supplying the place of military discipline, and invincible resolution, finally surmounting every obstacle. 1781

CHAPTER XX.

1781—1791.

Lord Cornwallis joins the royal Forces in Virginia. The Marquis de la Fayette's judicious Movements. Lord Cornwallis fortifies Yorktown and Glocester. Arnold's Expedition into Connecticut. Lord Cornwallis closely besieged in Yorktown. He surrenders. Joy of the Americans on that Occasion. A definitive Treaty of Peace concluded. The American Army disbanded. General Washington resigns his Commission, and retires to his Seat in Virginia. Difficulties after the Peace. Rebellion in Massachusetts. The Federal Constitution established. General Washington chosen President. Concluding Remarks.

1. SOON after the battle at Guilford Court-House, Lord Cornwallis retired to Wilmington, North-Carolina, and, preferring the 1781

1781 scale of operations, which Virginia presented, to the narrow one of preserving past conquests, he determined to leave South-Carolina, to be defended by Lord Rawdon. Before the end of April he therefore proceeded to Virginia with a very powerful army, and soon after his arrival, was reinforced by 1,500 men from New-York.

2. The defensive forces, which were opposed to this powerful army, were principally intrusted to the Marquis de la Fayette, * who had been dispatched from the main army to watch the motions of Lord Cornwallis in Virginia. Though his force was much inferior to that of the British general, yet, by a variety of judicious movements, he deranged his plans, and obliged him to retreat to Williamsburgh, and seek protection under the British shipping. His lordship soon after evacuated Portsmouth, and assiduously exerted himself to fortify York-town and Glocester Point. His whole force amounted to about 7,000 excellent troops.†

3. Whilst Lord Cornwallis was exerting himself to render his post impregnable, the French and Americans were equally active in their attempts to repel their enemies. On the 14th of September general Washington reached Williamstown, and with a number of his officers visited Count de Grasse, and concerted a plan of operation.

4. In the mean time Arnold made an excursion into Connecticut, and after burning sixty dwelling houses in New-London, and eighty-four stores, attacked Fort Griswold on Groton

* A French nobleman who made a distinguished figure, at the commencement of the French revolution.

† Gordon, vol. i. p. 184.

hill. Though the garrison defended themselves with great resolution, the fort was taken by the British, who with their savage cruelty put the men to the sword, even after their resistance had ceased. 1781

5. The combined armies of France and America began and conducted the siege of York-town with such energy and success, that Lord Cornwallis was reduced to the necessity of preparing for a surrender, or attempting an escape. He determined upon the latter, but his design was frustrated, and the British works were sinking under the weight of the French and American artillery. All hopes of relief from New-York were over; and the strength and spirits of the royal army worn down and exhausted by unremitting fatigue. In this desperate situation he sent out a flag with a letter to general Washington requesting a cessation of arms for twenty-four hours; that commissioners might be appointed for settling the terms of capitulation.

6. This request was complied with, and on the 18th of October, the posts of York and Gloucester, with upwards of 7,000 prisoners were surrendered. The reduction of the British army was considered as decisive of the independence of America, and occasioned universal transports of joy in the great body of the people.*

7. About three months after the capture of Lord Cornwallis was known in Great-Britain, the king and parliament resolved to abandon all offensive operations in America. And, on the 3d of September, 1783, the definitive treaties

* Ramsay, vol. ii. p. 192.

1781 of peace were concluded with the belligerent powers. The indefatigable exertions of the American commissioners, particularly those of John Adams, late president of the United States, procured highly advantageous terms for the Americans. The army was disbanded, and the magnanimous commander in chief retired to his delightful seat at Mount Vernon, in Virginia.

8. No sooner was peace restored by the definitive treaty, and the British troops withdrawn from the country, than the United States began to experience the defects of their general government. Articles of confederation, and perpetual union had been formed by Congress in 1778, and submitted to the consideration of the States. In 1781, they were ratified as the frame of government for the United States. These articles however were formed during the rage of war, when a principle of safety supplied the place of a coercive power, by men who had no experience in the art of governing an extensive country, hence the numerous defects in the confederation.

9. The long war through which the States had struggled, involved them in a debt which on the return of peace amounted to about forty millions of dollars. To provide funds for paying their continental debt, engaged the attention of Congress for some time before, and after the peace. At length a system for funding, and ultimately paying the whole public debt, was completed and offered to the States for their ratification.*

* Ramsay, vol. *ii.* p. 198.

10. The heavy taxes which Massachusetts was obliged to lay upon the people in order to comply with the requisitions of Congress, were loudly complained of by the inhabitants of that State, and caused them to feel in the most sensible manner, the inconveniences which they suffered from a decline, or rather an extinction of public credit, a relaxation of manners, a free use of foreign luxuries, a decay of trade and manufactures, with a prevailing scarcity of money.*

11. The general discontent of the people 1786
arose to such a degree as to produce acts of violence. In the year 1786 insurrections took place in various parts to impede the sitting of the several courts of justice; and at length a formidable number of insurgents assembled with Daniel Shays, who had been at their head, and threatened a subversion of the constitution and government of the State.

12. The violence and disorder of the insurgents became so alarming that the government was under the necessity of employing military force to suppress them. For this purpose the governour, during the winter of this year, detached a body of militia under the command of general Lincoln, who repaired immediately to the county of Hampshire, where the insurgents were principally convened. They attempted to gain possession of the military stores in the public arsenal at Springfield; but were resolutely repulsed by a small party of militia under the command of general Shepard. This assault was conducted with so little order and regulari-

* Minot, p. 28.

1786 ty that a few discharges from the artillery, threw them into confusion, and made them retreat in disorder, with the loss of four men.*

13. The spirited conduct of general Shepard, with the industry, perseverance, and prudent firmness of general Lincoln, dispersed the rebels, drove the leader from the State; and restored tranquillity. An act of indemnity was passed for all the insurgents, except a few of their leaders, on condition that they should become peaceable subjects, and take the oath of allegiance. The leaders afterwards petitioned for, and obtained pardon, on condition that they never should accept, or hold any office, civil or military, in the Commonwealth.†

14. The disagreeable events above recited were overruled for great national good. For from the obvious defects in the articles of confederation, the people were induced to see the necessity of establishing a form of government, equal to the exigencies of the Union. Accordingly, delegates from all the States, except Rhode-Island, assembled at Philadelphia, in May 1787. After four months deliberation, the federal constitution was formed, and at different periods adopted by the States. On the 30th of April, GEORGE WASHINGTON, who had led the United States to Independence and glory, was inaugurated president, in the city of New-York.

15. He was succeeded by the illustrious John Adams, a native of New-England, by whom the constitution, for the State of Massachusetts, was drawn up and reported to a committee.

* Minot, p. 192. † Ibid.

It underwent some amendment, and some alterations; one which has since been regretted, that of taking from the governour the power of appointing military officers.

16. The constitutions of the States of Connecticut and Rhode-Island, are founded on the charters which in 1662 and 1663, were granted them by Charles II.

17. The federal constitution, and several State constitutions agree in preserving the legislative, judiciary, and executive branches of government separate and distinct from each other.

18. Religious liberty is a fundamental principle in the constitutions of the respective States. Some indeed, retain a distinction between christians and others, with respect to their eligibility to office; but the idea of raising one sect of protestants to a legal preeminence, is universally reprobated.

19. Since the adoption of the federal constitution, learning has flourished, and new literary institutions have been founded in New-England. In 1791, the legislature in the State of Vermont passed an act establishing an university at Burlington, on Lake Champlain, in a delightful situation on the south side of Onion river, and appointed ten trustees. The sum of 6,000*l.* was secured by voluntary donation; part of which is to be applied to the erecting of buildings, and part settled as a fund for the support of the institution.*

20. In reviewing the history of New-England and the late American revolution, we find the wonders of divine providence rising conspicuous in

* Morse's Geography, vol. i. p. 376.

every scene. At first we behold a small number of people, who, when oppressed by cruel persecution, preferred the sacred rights of conscience to all earthly enjoyments, and exchanged their native country for a dreary wilderness inhabited by savages. After struggling with complicated hardships they obtained secure settlements, and the wilderness at length was made to blossom like a rose, by the hand of persevering industry; and hough their prosperity was sometimes clouded, yet their misfortunes, and even their prejudices were overruled for good. Those who were driven from Massachusetts by the persecution of their brethren formed new settlements. The colonies increased, and rose in wealth, and the interposing hand of heaven protected them under every difficulty.

21. When the colonies were involved in the distressing war with Philip, they were enabled to subdue their savage enemies; when they were deprived of their charters the sudden revolution in England relieved them from the oppression of arbitrary power; when the united efforts of the French and their Indian allies were levelled against them, the conquering arms of Britain and her colonies frustrated their attempts.

22. When the important era, at length arrived, in which Britain exerted her utmost strength to deprive her colonies of their dearly purchased privileges; and a new country under great disadvantages, was obliged to contend with that potent nation, which had recently conquered the united powers of France and Spain; inspired by the sacred flame of liberty, the colonies triumphed over the well disciplined forces

of the parent state. The striking divine interpositions, in favour of America, during the contest, afford an interesting subject of contemplation to pious minds; while amidst the apparently uncertain chances of war, they perceive with grateful admiration the controling hand of providence rendering every event subservient to the liberty and independence of the United States.

23. After independence was obtained by the sword, and acknowledged by the European nations, when a spirit of anarchy threatened the subversion of our recently acquired liberty, the interposition of providence was visible in causing these tumults to terminate in the establishment of the federal constitution, which placed the privileges of the United States on a permanent foundation.

24. Exalted from a feeble state to opulence and independence, the federal Americans are now recognized as a nation throughout the globe. This highly favoured people ought to raise their minds in fervent aspirations, that their fair prospects may never be reversed by a temper of disunion, or a spirit of anarchy prevailing among the people, but that genuine liberty, united with order and good government, may diffuse their blessings through the widely extended union.

25. The inhabitants of New-England in particular, whose ancestors were eminent for industry, love of order, attention to the promotion of learning, and a supreme regard for religion, ought to be assiduously careful to cultivate and improve those virtues for which the first settlers of their country were so highly distinguished.

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FINIS.